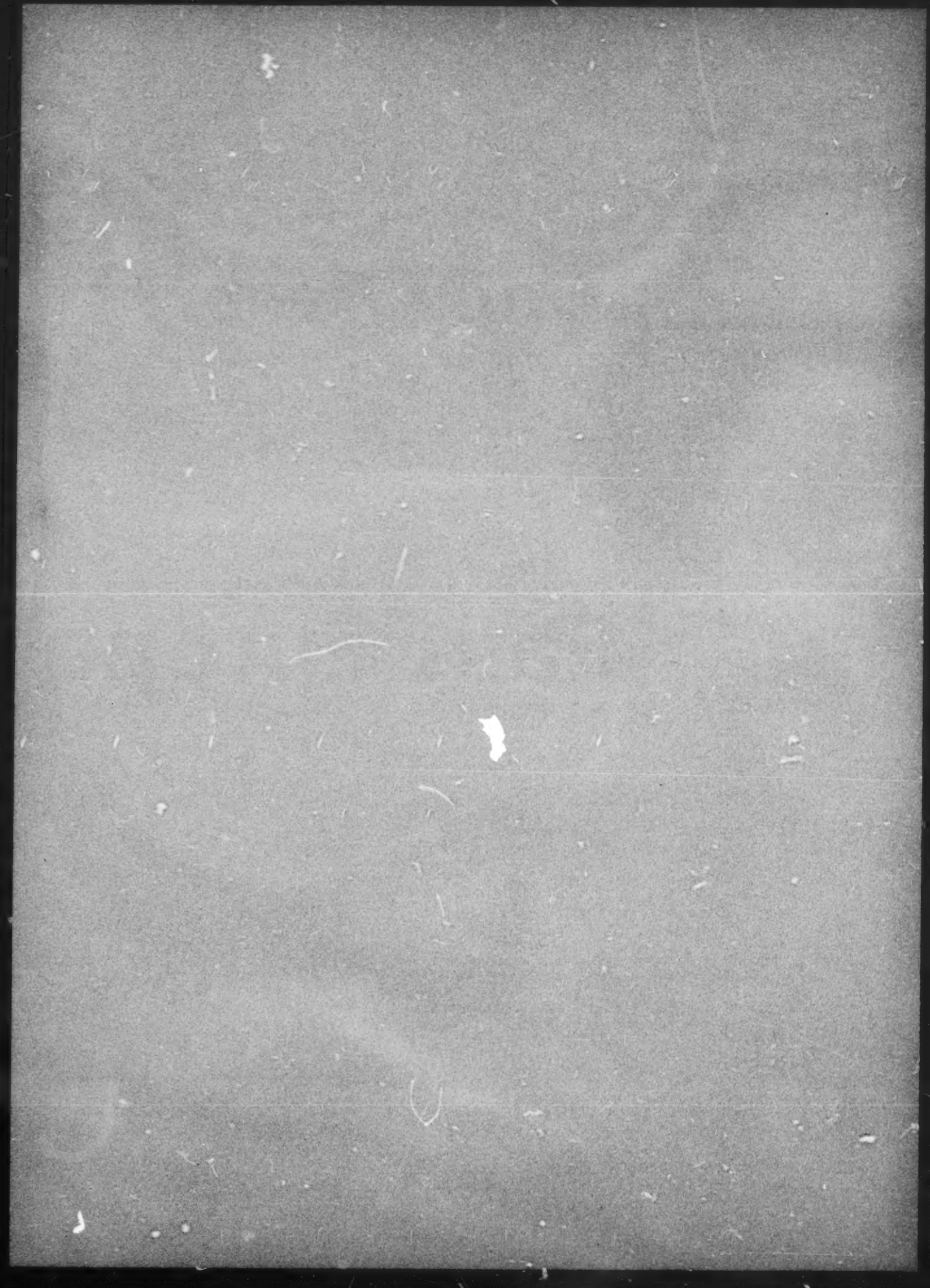




Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-012
Thursday
19 January 1989



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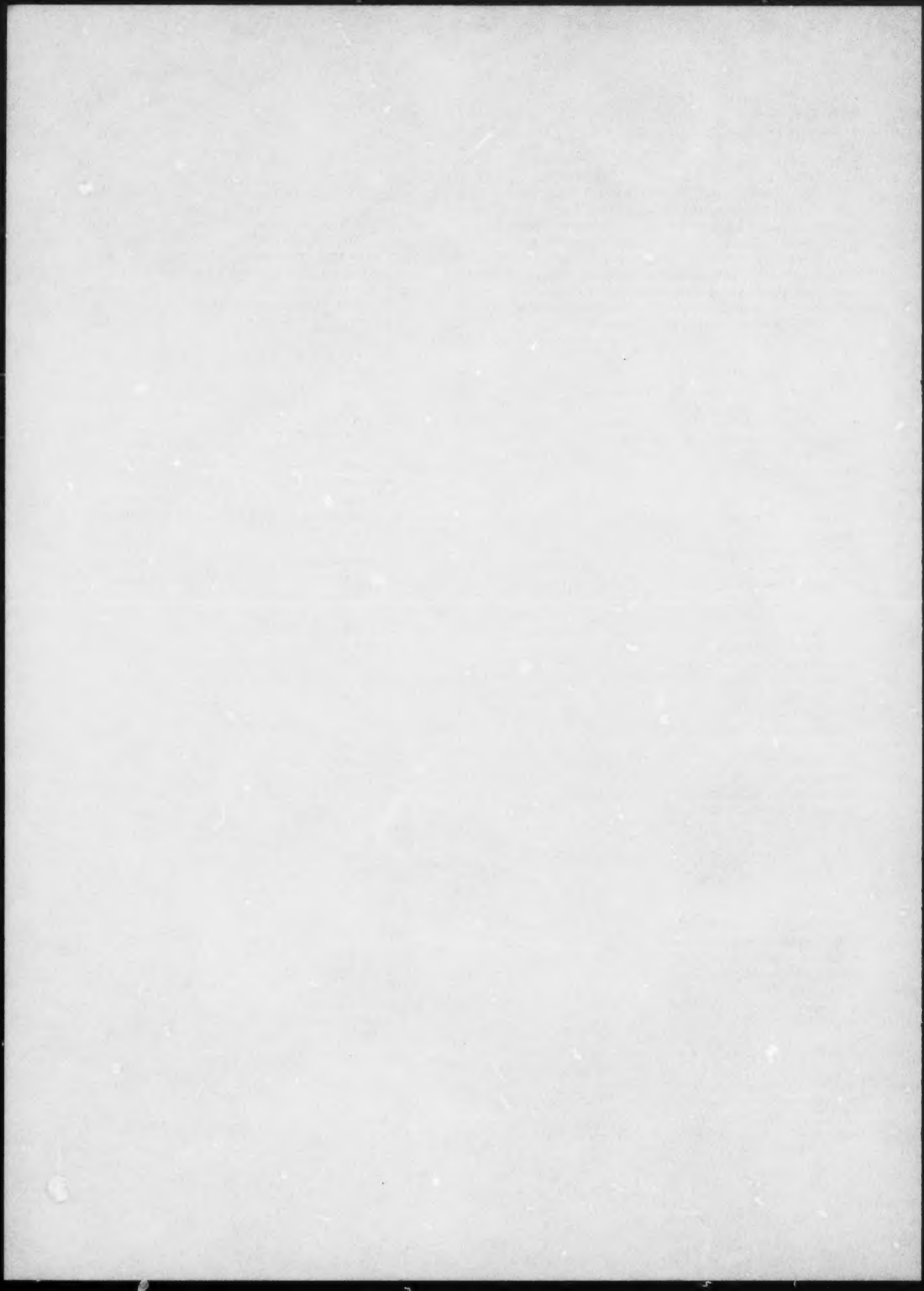
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Further Reportage on Vienna CSCE Conference

Varkonyi Meets Hungarian Press

LD1801123789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe continues in Vienna, where Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi spoke to representatives of the Hungarian press. Istvan Kulcsar, our special correspondent, reports:

[Kulcsar] [passage omitted] This morning Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi met Alois Mock, the head of Austrian foreign affairs. In their discussion, they expressed satisfaction about the follow-up meeting—due to conclude tomorrow—and discussed issues of bilateral relations, as well as the timetable of the Hungarian-Austrian Government leaders' and other high-level meetings this year.

Also, before the start of the morning's session, Peter Varkonyi spoke to representatives of the Hungarian press. Among other things, he told us that the Vienna final document adopted on Sunday is virtually the most important one among the similar documents adopted since Helsinki. It is a document extremely full in content; it contains great potential in terms of the further improvement of the European processes. Although we have fulfilled the provisions of all such documents since Helsinki, and have adjusted our legislation and our legal system to them, we will have to further refine the latter so that they might fully be in accordance with our internationally undertaken commitments, said the Hungarian foreign minister. [passage omitted]

The last speaker of the session, now under way, will be Hungarian foreign minister Peter Varkonyi; he will address the participants of the Vienna follow-up meeting some time around 1215.

Varkonyi on Final Document

LD1801172589 Budapest MTI in English
1411 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—Hungary is one of those countries which have approved the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. On this occasion, the government daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" interviewed Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, who said:

"The final document contains the mandate of talks to be held on conventional armed forces in Europe. Hungary will, for the first time, attend a European consultation on issues that affect its security directly. We hope that the first measures elaborated in these talks will affect Hungary as well. The follow-up meeting yielded positive

achievements in the field of human relations, information, culture and education. These agreements are broadening the basis of understanding between East and West.

"The idea of the Moscow humanitarian conference has been realized. Progress in European integration and the reform processes that are under way in some socialist countries make it necessary, and the economic conference to be convened under the Vienna final document make it possible, to start common deliberations on our economic affairs.

"The follow-up meeting devised a mechanism of consultations on, and verification of, the so-called human dimension. The problems arising in this framework may include the enforcement of the freedom of religion, and the fulfilment of commitments related to travel abroad and family reunification. In a new development, the final document excludes the possibility of refusing complaints on the pretext of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. It creates an opportunity for the governments to inform one another on affairs and situations which they evaluate as violating the agreements concluded in the CSCE process.

"A greater deal of publicity will be given to the fulfilment of obligations in the fields of human rights and humanitarian issues. Hungary accepted the Vienna final document, and will implement each paragraph in each field", Mr Varkonyi said to "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

MTI Interviews Varkonyi

LD1901032789 Budapest MTI in English
2005 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 17 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, gave an interview to MTI in Vienna on the completion of the Vienna follow-up.

Among other things he said that the conference was completed very successfully, to which the favourably international environment contributed significantly. While approaching the different views the states themselves approached each other, which is reflected by the final document. This is the most important document on security and cooperation in Europe since the Helsinki Final Act.

Hungary is striving to implement all the clauses of the document. These efforts are facilitated by the fact that we not only implemented the stipulations of the documents of the Helsinki process but we have also gone beyond them. As a matter of course, our domestic laws must be further refined to comply with our international obligations. All countries must follow suit which needs joint efforts.

Answering a question to what extent the Romanian stand that it does not regard certain clauses of the document binding hinder implementation the Hungarian minister said:

"As this is a document approved by all signatory states at an international conference, it is binding for all participants. The Helsinki documents are not a kind of 'smorgasbord' from where one can take what one likes."

Answering a question why none of the 10 major conferences planned to be held as part of the Helsinki process in the years to come will be held in Hungary Peter Varkonyi said that Hungary had not applied. Hungary was the host of the cultural forum, the most important conference between the Madrid and Vienna follow-ups. It was the first time that a conference part of the Helsinki process was held in one of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. During the Vienna follow-up it was borne in mind that the events of the Helsinki process should be held at as many sites as possible. Among the Warsaw Treaty members states the choice fell upon the Soviet Union, Poland and Bulgaria.

According to the foreign minister the final document's most meaningful and detailed clause is on human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The clauses on military and confidence-building issues belonging to the 'first basket' has also gone beyond the former documents. As regards the 'second basket', it can be considered there is some incompleteness. In future participants in the Helsinki process must lay more emphasis on the development of reciprocally advantageous economic cooperation. Mechanisms similar to those introduced to verify confidence-building and the observance of human rights should be used also in this field. Implementation of the economic targets should also be verified.

Romania's Totu Speaks

AU1801200189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1848 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Romania's Stance, President Nicolae Ceausescu's Outlook and Considerations on Security Building and the Strengthening of Cooperation in Europe—Presented by the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Vienna AGERPRES, 18/1/1989—Taking the floor during the proceedings of the final meeting of the representatives of the states participating in the CSCE meeting, the Romanian foreign minister, Ioan Totu, said:

In connection with the conclusion of the all-European meeting in Vienna, I have the honour to present you the stand of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the outlook and considerations of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the building of security and the strengthening of cooperation in Europe, as an integral part of the achievement of lasting peace and the development of multifaceted cooperation all the world over.

The questions of security and cooperation in Europe hold a front-rank place within Romania's international activity. As is known, already at the onset of the CSCE

process and the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, in 1975, Romania unfolded a sustained activity for more confidence, security and cooperation in the continent, for disarmament, understanding and fruitful work-together among all the European peoples.

Consistent upon these basic stands, Romania has taken part in the proceedings of the Vienna meeting with the desire, as recently mentioned by Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, to see the agreements reached "provide for equal-termed collaboration in Europe, lead to a united Europe in the diversity of its social systems, of free and independent nations, which should respect the social system, the aspirations, traditions and way of working of each nation."

We appreciate that, on the whole, through the efforts of all states, the Vienna meeting succeeded in adopting some important provisions, whose implementation will be of a nature to foster better understanding and cooperation among our peoples, to strengthen peace and security in Europe. We pay a great deal of attention to the reiteration of the necessity strictly and unfailingly to observe in interstate relations all the principles laid down in the Helsinki Final Act, to set up a new negotiation forum on troops and conventional weapons in Europe and resume the negotiations on the adoption of further confidence- and security-building measures, of other provisions meant to bolster cooperation in the economic, technical-scientific, cultural, educational and humanitarian fields.

The question now is to take action, in a subsequent stage, for these measures and provisions to further the cause of the consolidation of security and cooperation in the continent, to provide for the development of understanding and work-together between our countries.

Romania considers that the realization of security and collaboration in Europe must rely on the principles of fully equal rights, observance of the national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the right of each people self-reliantly to decide on its socio-economic development path. These principles are confirmed by life, by the whole international experience to be the only ones apt to ensure the development of normal relations among states, the peace and progress of all nations. In this sense, we consider that the reiteration in the Final Document of the necessity of observing each state's right to choose and develop freely its political, social, economic and cultural system answers a fundamental requirement of cooperation and of stronger security in Europe, of the promotion of friendly relations, based on mutual respect, among the continent's states.

The cardinal problem of the European Continent, as in fact of the whole world, is the massive accumulation of weaponry, the threat which nuclear arming poses to the very existence of life on the earth.

Though some positive steps have been taken lately on the road of disarmament and the political settlement of some conflicts, no radical change has been worked in the world yet; the arms race has continued, first of all in the form of the modernization and improvement of nuclear, chemical and conventional armament.

That is why Romania pays great heed to the decision to start negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe and to resume negotiations for the adoption of new confidence- and security-building measures.

Taking into account the developments occurred in the sphere of production of mass destruction and conventional weapons, the great danger posed by nuclear weapons, Romania considers that transition to general and complete disarmament, which should simultaneously address all categories of weapons, is the main goal of the current stage.

Security in Europe cannot be ensured through the accumulation and improvement of nuclear, chemical or conventional weapons, or through the so-called "nuclear deterrence" or other conceptions promoting the arms race. On the contrary, security can only be achieved through disarmament in all domains, through the banning and ousting of all mass destruction weapons, nuclear first and foremost, through the substantial reduction of conventional armaments, troops and military expenditures. This way, there will be equal security for all states, and any possibility to threaten with the use of this or that weapon, with the use or the threat of force by one state against another will be done away with.

From this stand, Romania will take an active part in the proceedings of the conference on disarmament in Geneva, as also in the negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe.

Moreover, we consider that the interests of collaboration in Europe require that sustained action be taken with a view to adopting and implementing the most committing and concrete measures of broadening cooperation in production and in the technical-scientific realm, the transfers of technology, with a view to doing away with the restrictions and discriminating obstacles to commercial and economic exchanges between the participant states. For this purpose, most actively used should be the meetings agreed upon in these domains.

Ensuring such a course of economic and technical-scientific relations, an area neglected to a large extent in the activities unfolded so far by the CSCE, represents an essential element of the furtherance and development of the all-European process upon equilibrated bases.

In our opinion, it is necessary to take more resolute action, with a sense of responsibility, for the development of economic exchanges and cooperation among our

countries, as well as with other countries of the world, in regard of the economic and technical-scientific potential of the participant countries.

We reaffirm, in this context as well, the will of Romania actively to participate in the development of collaboration among all the European states in the economic, technical-scientific and other fields, its resolve to make its full contribution to the firm promotion of relations lastingly based on full equality and mutual respect whose basic aim should be the ensurance of the economic and social progress of each nation, its sovereign, free and independent development.

Full realization of the basic human rights and freedoms with respect to all citizens of the country, without any discrimination, constitutes a major objective of Romania's policy.

Sustained development of industry and the other branches of the economy, rational location of the productive forces nation-wide guarantee to all citizens equal conditions of work and life, actual exercise of the basic rights to work, education and professional training, housing, health and incomes measured against the work done, without any discrimination as to sex, religious faith or nationality. Moreover, an institutional framework of broad and genuine democracy has been created and operates in Romania which assures the direct participation of all people in social organization and management.

I did not intend to refer in my address to the position of and situation in various participating countries. We regret that the representative of the United States of America took a stance that runs counter to the Helsinki spirit, to the spirit of understanding and collaboration among all states, irrespective of social system. That is why, I feel it my duty to refer to some of the questions he raised.

According to what the representative of the United States of America stated here, he shows no interest in developing relations with the socialist countries—the social system in those countries being observed—but rather in weakening the positions of socialism and, in his attempt, he resorts to distortions, to a misrepresentation of realities in a number of socialist countries, Romania among them.

The secretary of state of the United States of America seems willing to give a certificate of proper conduct as far as socialist construction in one country or another is concerned according to his own wish, to the wish of the circles he represents, in a clear attempt at weakening the socialist countries rather than at strengthening and consolidating socialism. As the U.S. representative's statements showed, Romania is not among the countries where socialism is being built to his excellency's liking.

In this framework too, I should like to point out that Romania asked nobody's permission to build socialism, that it builds it according to general social laws and specific realities in Romania, to the Romanian people's unanimous wish and will. We reject the attempts at denigrating the socioeconomic policy in our country, at presenting realities in Romania in a distorted manner.

We did not gather in this forum to analyze and discuss the situation in various countries, although a lot could be said about the lack of jobs for a large part of the population, for the youth in particular, about the housing shortage, about the widening gap between the rich and the poor, and about other serious socio-economic issues that adversely affect the lives of millions of people, in the United States of America included, as resulting from the official data released in the U.S.A. Furthermore, a lot could be said about the policy of spoliating the developing countries, promoted by international financial circles and even by a number of states, that jeopardizes the interests of the peoples, depriving them of elementary living conditions.

We wish social issues, the questions related to the democratic freedoms and fundamental rights of all people, of the nationalities included, would be solved by all countries at least to the extent to which they had been solved and, respectively, secured in Romania. This would go down as a huge stride towards equity, towards all peoples' progress and prosperity, towards collaboration and peace.

We deplore the fact that the document of the Vienna meeting has not included, as firm commitments of states, a number of Romanian proposals concerning basic human rights such as ensurance of a workplace to each citizen of the country, to young people in the first place; elimination of unemployment; professional training and upgrading the education of young people; housing for all members of society; liquidation of economic and social inequalities between men and women.

At the same time, the fact that the Final Document does not reflect properly the states' commitment as regards the people's training and education in keeping with scientific and technical discoveries, the broadening of their general horizon of knowledge and the shaping of a consciousness based on scientific and cultural knowledge runs into conflict with the contemporary epoch's objective demands. We also mention in this context that a number of provisions that were listed in this document on the pretext of alleged concern for the free movement of people and religious freedom do not agree to the principles and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, to the realities in our age and run counter to international norms and regulations the states have adhered to. During the proceedings of the meeting, the same as on the adoption of the Final Document, the Romanian delegation made known—via the statement that was released—its specific observations and reserve with regard to a number of the document's stipulations.

In this framework too we renew Romania's firm stand that all the dispositions in the Final Document—as it itself reads specifically—will have to be applied in keeping with the domestic constitutional framework, legislation and regulations in force in each country, with its specific traditions and conditions and equally, in a spirit of cooperation and strict observance of the principles governing the relations among the participating states.

Romania is resolved actively to cooperate with the other countries and peoples in the implementation of the Final Act's principles and goals so that the all-European process could develop along the line of consolidating trust, mutual respect, understanding and fruitful cooperation among independent and sovereign states that are equal in rights. Such demands will also have to be strictly observed in the organization and development of future meetings and conferences, of any actions that are to proceed in the CSCE framework.

Continuing our efforts in this direction answers the European peoples' interests, those of the cause of peace, progress and civilization.

GDR's Fischer Praises Progress

LD1701155689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1443 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, (ADN)—On arrival in Vienna for the concluding ceremony of the CSCE follow-up meeting, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer announced to the press on Tuesday:

"The GDR comes with positive expectations to the foreign ministers meeting at the conclusion of the Vienna conference. In particular, we expect the meeting to provide impetus for the further implementation of the CSCE process in all areas included in the final document. It is especially encouraging that negotiations are now beginning on conventional disarmament in Europe, and the conference on confidence- and security-building in Europe is to be continued. The Warsaw Pact states have a specific and comprehensive program for this with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Committee from Budapest, Berlin, and Warsaw. The considerable reduction of troops and armaments announced unilaterally by the USSR, including their withdrawal from the territory of four friendly states, among them the GDR, prepares a fertile soil for the forthcoming negotiations in Vienna.

"I assume that here in Vienna new fields for more security and cooperation among all participants will be marked out. This is entirely in the interest of the GDR. It will continue to do everything possible to promote the pan-European process and make it everlasting. In this spirit, the GDR is prepared to cooperate with all states, their social system notwithstanding. At the same time I

would like to use this opportunity to thank the government and people of Austria for their generous hospitality and for the perfect organization of the CSCE meeting in Vienna."

Rejects Criticism of Berlin Wall

LD1801194089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1839 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer on Wednesday in the Austrian Center in Vienna met with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

At the beginning of the meeting, in his interlocutor's residence, the GDR foreign minister stated, in Genscher's presence, in response to a question on this topic from journalists: "The Berlin Wall will remain for as long as the reasons that led to its construction exist." Oskar Fischer pointed in this respect to a statement by Willy Brandt on 11 September 1988 on this topic, who said that the danger of war, which was feared at that time, had been diverted by the building of the wall. "The Berlin Wall is not a vestige of the cold war, but a factor for stability in Europe", the GDR foreign minister said.

In their exchange of opinion on bilateral and international questions the foreign ministers agreed that relations between the GDR and the FRG are developing on the basis of the treaties and agreements existing between the two sides. They have become a stabilizing element in interstate relations in Europe and a constructive ingredient in the CSCE process.

Oskar Fischer and Hans-Dietrich Genscher greeted the possibility, which exists with the acceptance of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, for the continuation of the CSCE process in all areas. It is now a matter above all of turning the mandate for negotiations on conventional disarmament and for the continuation of measures to build up trust and security into concrete disarmament steps.

Fischer, Austrian Chancellor Meet

LD1801190389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—During a meeting at the Federal Chancellor's Office in Ballhausplatz, Vienna, Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer praised the final document of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna as the result of a policy that shows a willingness for understanding. The GDR, as one of the states that actively helped to shape and advance the CSCE process, values Austria's important contribution to the successful conclusion of the follow-up meeting, the GDR foreign minister underlined. Federal Chancellor Vranitzky stressed in this connection that Austria's neutrality has in no way proved to be an obstacle, but provided an opportunity that was utilized.

The two sides stressed the great importance of the negotiations, agreed in the final document, on conventional disarmament in Europe and on the continuation of the confidence- and security-building measures that are to begin in Vienna shortly.

It was pointed out that, despite the satisfaction about the achieved results, any impression that everything has now been done must not arise. The European Continent must be freed from the surfeit of weapons and armaments. The Austrian federal chancellor underlined the view that, following the treaty on the scrapping of nuclear medium-range missiles, there should be no arms escalation in the conventional sphere.

The two sides stressed that their bilateral relations are productive and intact and that their dialogue at a high level is functioning well. The greetings from Erich Honnecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, which Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer conveyed to the federal chancellor, were cordially reciprocated by Dr Vranitzky.

Fischer, Mock Hold Talks

LD1901115589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1846 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Austria's vice chancellor and foreign minister, Dr Alois Mock, affirmed in a friendly meeting on Wednesday evening in the Vienna Austria Center their positive assessment of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, to which both states had contributed in a constructive manner.

The partners in the talks agreed that the results of the meeting also offered possibilities for a more intensive development of bilateral relations. The GDR and Austria intended to abide by the framework set out in Vienna in all areas through the expansion of mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation.

The GDR foreign minister pointed out that the good experiences in bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation provide numerous starting points as envisaged by the Vienna decisions. This cooperation also has a constructive effect on the consolidation of security in Europe. Fischer and Mock expressed their confidence that the efforts of all participant states in the negotiations beginning in March in Vienna would soon lead to concrete disarmament steps in the conventional area.

CSSR's Johanes on Demonstrations

AU1801135389 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 18 Jan

[Interview with CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes by Armin Wolf in Vienna on 18 January; questions given in German, Johanes answers in Czech followed by superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Wolf] Mr Foreign Minister, in today's speech you briefly referred to the criticism of other states of the CSSR's behavior during the past few days. Is it correct that you wanted to tell those states that criticized you to attend to their own matters and not point at the CSSR?

[Johanes] What is happening in Prague is not a violation of human rights. I stressed this during my speech. If there are people who disrupt public order and violate the legal order, who want to create disorder and destabilize the country, they must not be surprised when the laws are applied. This is what is happening.

[Wolf] How can a few hundred, or even a few thousand peaceful demonstrators endanger public order? Is this not an overreaction?

[Johanes] I think that we are not talking about peaceful demonstrations. We allow peaceful demonstrations. But here attempts are being made to disrupt public order, to discredit the CSSR in other countries, and we think that these actions are influenced from abroad. However, you have asked me what I think other states should do when I said that they should apply the Helsinki process at home. Just think of what happened in Miami recently. Similar things also occur in other countries.

[Wolf] In the countries that you criticized yesterday [17 January], the police do not usually disperse small and relatively peaceful demonstration by means of a water cannon. Let me add something: Is there not a discrepancy...

[Johanes, interrupting] I would like to emphasize this once more. You always speak of peaceful demonstrators. I would like to repeat that the recent events were organized by groups of irresponsible people and were aimed at creating disorder.

[Wolf] Is it possible to stage a demonstration in the CSSR to commemorate the suicide of Jan Palach? Would it be permitted?

[Johanes] In the CSSR, the National Committee is responsible for granting demonstrations. In the most recent case, no permission was granted, which means that the demonstration was illegal. For this reason, the authorities acted in accordance with our laws. I would like to add that, as far as the demonstration in Wenceslas Square is concerned, there was a justified suspicion that a young man would commit suicide during the demonstration. Therefore, the competent authorities were obliged to avoid such an inhuman act.

Johanes Addresses Meeting

*LD1801172289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The most important results of the Vienna meeting were all assessed in detail by CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, who was the first to speak today at the final meeting of foreign ministers at the Vienna Congress center.

He singled out, above all, our country's contribution to the all-European effort to reduce the danger of starting a military confrontation. This is specifically represented

by the proposal from Comrade Milos Jakes for the creation of a zone of trust at the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic pact states, or in the broadening of economic relations with EEC countries in the framework of cooperation between CEMA and the EEC.

Speaking about the necessary cooperation among European countries in the protection of the environment, Jaromir Johanes also recalled the proposal by Comrade Ladislav Adamec for a meeting of premiers of neighboring states, which has met with a positive response.

In his speech, Jaromir Johanes also reacted to the attacks from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and some NATO delegates against Czechoslovakia in connection with the action against organizers of provocative actions in Wenceslas Square in Prague. He said, and I quote:

Pledges proceeding from the Helsinki process are valid for all participant states—in both East and West. Thus, anyone in this hall who points his finger at some other countries, including Czechoslovakia, should look at himself first of all.

Jaromir Johanes stressed that actions that violate law and public order cannot be tolerated by any government, and Czechoslovak organs are acting merely thus.

Johanes Meets Counterparts

*LD1901032589 Prague CTK in English
2054 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna Jan 18 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met with his West German colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher here today.

During their discussion of bilateral issues they praised the achieved degree of mutual cooperation in all spheres and evaluated the prospects of its further development.

The two ministers paid attention to economic and ecological problems. Jaromir Johanes pointed out in this context the need to seek new and more efficient forms of cooperation. They also exchanged views on some aspects of humanitarian issues.

The two ministers appreciated the results achieved at the Vienna follow-up meeting and described its final document as an important step towards the strengthening of favourable trends of development on the European Continent. In this context they underscored the importance of the forthcoming talks on conventional disarmament in Europe. They emphasized the interest of their countries in the further strengthening of security and development of all-round cooperation between all European states.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes also conferred today with his Danish counterpart Uffe Elle-mann-Jensen on the possibilities of extending coopera-tion between the two countries and some international topics. Both praised the contribution of the Vienna follow-up meeting to the all-round development of coop-eration and security in Europe.

CSSR Delegate on Final Document

*LD1501202789 Prague CTK in English
1621 GMT 15 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna Jan 15 (CTK correspondent)—The sign-ing of the text of the mandate for talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals is a result of a compromise of all participants and a good basis for starting an entirely new disarmament forum, Czechoslo-vak chief delegate to the Vienna follow-up meeting Frantisek Dolezel has told CTK.

The Warsaw Treaty states will come to the new disarma-ment talks with a clear concept based on the conclusions of the latest session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

A number of important ideas from the Warsaw Treaty document are reflected also in the text of the mandate. The mandate says, for instance, that the talks will be aimed at strengthening stability and security in Europe, and speaks about liquidation of asymmetries and elimi-nation of the threat of unexpected attacks, etc. All measures should be carried out under strict and effective control, including on-spot inspection, Frantisek Dolezel said.

Poland's Olechowski Arrives

*LD1601195789 Warsaw PAP in English
1719 GMT 16 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 16—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski arrived here today to take part in the three-day final session of the CSCE review confer-ence here, starting on Tuesday.

Olechowski is expected to address the meeting on Wednesday, while on Thursday he will undersign the Vienna CSCE Final Act on behalf of Poland.

The head of the Polish diplomacy is also going to hold working meetings with his foreign counterparts attend-ing the Vienna meeting.

On Tuesday Minister Olechowski is expected to meet here with the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the FRG Hans-Dietrich Genscher, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands Hans van den Broek.

Olechowski Arrival Statement

*LD1601232289 Warsaw PAP in English
2236 GMT 16 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 16—On his arrival here, Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski delivered the fol-lowing statement to newsmen:

"The results of the Vienna meeting reflect the qualitative change for the better in the East-West relations," said he.

"The dialogue, rapprochement and cooperation of 33 European states, the U.S. and Canada are the main construction site of the European home. The edifice should rest on the well-balanced pillars: the military-political, the economic and the humanitarian one. The Vienna meeting reinforced two of them: the military-political and the humanitarian. Already March '89 will see the beginning of the well-prepared talks on the issue which is of special interest to Poland: the reduction in the conventional armed forces and armaments. Our contribution to the talks will be our own political thought comprised in the Jaruzelski plan. We will strive for the strengthening of the security of Poland and the continent at a lower level of armaments," Olechowski continued.

"All Europe will benefit if the economic, scientific-and-technological and environment protection issues find their due place in the construction of the European home in the nearest future. We will strive for this," stated he.

"Let me express utmost satisfaction that the Polish-Austrian proposal to organize in Krakow a symposium on strengthening and development of European cultural heritage was accepted by everyone. We shall do our best to make Krakow a symbol of the strengthening of all-European spiritual and civilization ties," Olechowski said.

Olechowski Meets With Shultz

*LD1701192589 Warsaw PAP in English
1817 GMT 17 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 17—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, now attending the CSCE meeting here, met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The ministers stressed the significance of bilateral dia-logue, and said that George Bush's Polish visit in 1987 was a very important step on the road to a full normal-ization of relations between the two countries.

Further political dialogue and contacts between the Polish Government and the new U.S. Administration were necessary, the interlocutors agreed. The Polish minister pointed to the need of enlivening cooperation in the financial and economic sphere.

Minister Olechowski also met with his Swedish counter-part Sten Andersson. The ministers said that bilateral relations will be enhanced as a result of the Swedish

foreign minister's planned visit to Poland in mid-1989. They looked at possibilities for bilateral cooperation in environmental protection, the Swedish minister also displaying interest in the principles of establishing joint ventures in Poland.

Polish Envoy on Final Document

*LD1501221889 Warsaw PAP in English
1926 GMT 15 Jan 89*

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 15—Participants in Sunday's plenary session of delegations of 35 states accepted the Vienna final document without objections.

Heads of many delegations of participating states highly assessed the value of the Vienna final document today. According to their concordant opinions this document's provisions place it at the top of the hierarchy of documents agreed since the announcement of the Helsinki CSCE Final Act.

Head of a Polish delegation, Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski said: "The adoption of the CSCE meeting's final document and of a mandate of new disarmament negotiations by 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states

constitutes a considerable progress in East-West relations and in the all-European process of cooperation, initiated by the final Helsinki Final Act." "Now a fast development of the entire infrastructure of inter-governmental dialogue of 35 states-participants in the CSCE process will take place and a special position in this dialogue will be taken by negotiations of 23 states on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. They should produce fast results," he said.

"Poland played a significant and constructive role at the Vienna meeting and in talks (of) the 23, sparing no effort to resolve numerous problems and overcome obstacles on the road to the final consensus of 35 governments. All Polish proposals were reflected in the final document. They met with the appreciation of participating states which had endorsed them, although many difficulties had to be overcome to achieve our goals," the ambassador underscored.

"A CSCE symposium on common cultural heritage, a very important one for all-European cooperation, will be held in Krakow, Poland, in 1991. The fact that Poland has been entrusted with the role of the host to this symposium also confirms Poland's role an position in the CSCE process," Konarski stated.

Meeting of Balkan States Continues in Albania

Malile Receives Ministers

AU1801113789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states that have come to take part in the Balkan meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning.

He welcomed them to our country and assured them of the deep, friendly feelings the Albanian people cherish for all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula, to whom they are tied by the common interests of peace and stability in the Balkans. Reis Malile expressed the desire and confidence that a constructive and fruitful atmosphere will prevail at this important meeting of Balkan states, which will help to improve the atmosphere of understanding and cooperation that is so necessary for our region.

Deputy Ministers Deliver Speeches

AU1901093489 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT
19 Jan 89

["Spirit of Understanding and Friendship Among the Balkan Countries—the Opinion That the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers Be Held in Tirana in 1990 Unanimously Expressed"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—After the plenary sitting, the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries continued its proceedings according to the agenda, adopted by its participants:

1. Evaluation of realisation of activities of multilateral cooperation foreseen for 1988 and their impact on the promotion of the inter-Balkan relations.
2. Exchange of views on the programme of Balkan activities for 1989.
3. The fixing of the date and venue of the coming meeting of the senior representatives of the foreign affairs ministries.

From the Speech of the Head of the Bulgarian Delegation

The first to take the floor was the head of the Bulgarian delegation, Ivan Ganev, vice minister of foreign affairs. He thanked for the warm hospitality, the very good conditions which contribute to the successful conduct of the proceedings, and expressed the hope that the meeting will further edge the spirit of Balkan cooperation.

After mentioning a series of inter-Balkan activities conducted during 1988, Ivan Ganev emphasized that the dialogue which is being conducted successfully in various domains is making evident its advantages and helps

in carrying ahead good will and mutual respect. We have proved, he said, that we are able to turn our good goals into deeds and therefore we may be optimistic. Speaking of the regional cooperation, Ivan Ganev said that without imitating foreign models, bearing in mind the specific conditions of the Balkans such a form and a content may be required which ever better responds to the present-day stage of the development of the Balkan cooperation. He underlined the necessity of continuing the talks to make the Balkans a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, spoke of a broader participation of the Balkan peoples in the process of understanding, and invited to exchange opinions on the participation of the parliaments so as to enrich the Balkan dialogue.

In respect to this, Ivan Ganev said, the coming meeting of the committees of Balkan understanding and cooperation will play a role. He pointed out that the date might be fixed concerning the meeting of the experts to strengthen confidence and security. He spoke also of expanding the economic cooperation, etc., in the framework of UNO organisms. Likewise, he spoke of the promotion of the Balkan cooperation in the cultural, humanitarian fields and in that of information. In conclusion, Ivan Ganev supported the candidature of the PSR of Albania as the place where the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will be held.

From the Speech of the Head of the Greek Delegation

Later the floor was taken by the head of the Greek delegation, Konstandinos Yeoryiou, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The current meeting, he said, will contribute not only to the relations between Greece and Albania, as host country, but also to all the atmosphere in the region and Europe, part of which we are. The head of the Greek delegation pointed out that Greece has taken an active part in a series of inter-Balkan activities in the fields of trade, tourism, protection of the environment, etc. The Greek Government, he said, welcomes the proposal of the ministers of transport to hold periodical meetings, in particular if we bear in mind the fact that the sphere of cooperation will comprise the domains of transport and telecommunication. He upheld the idea of creating in the Balkans a nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free-zone, stressing that the experts' meeting held in Bucharest in 1986 and the latest Paris conference on the ban of the chemical weapons may be the starting point of beginning to develop the idea of chemical-weapon-free-zone.

Konstandinos Yeoryiou dwelt on the Greek idea adopted at the Belgrade foreign ministers' meeting, to create a research institute for the Balkan economic cooperation and its functioning, possibly within the first half of the current year. He endorsed the report presented by the working group suggested that a new mandate be given to this group, that is proposed to convene in Athens by the end of February, in order to expand and complete the report on the work of the institute.

As far as the coming foreign affairs ministers' conference is concerned, he said, it would be valuable to decide soon the time and venue where it will be held. In accord with the alphabetic criterion, Yeoryiou upholds that we may invite Albania to be the host country for the foreign ministers conference and that it be held by the first half of 1990. As far as the conference of the senior representatives of foreign affairs ministries, he said, according to the alphabetical criterion, it belongs to Greece to be its host country. In case it is accepted, the leader of the Greek delegation said, Greece is ready that it be held in Autumn.

Since the Belgrade foreign ministers' conference, Yeoryiou said in conclusion, much is attained within few months, something that permits us to look more optimistically upon the future of Balkan cooperation.

From the Speech of the Head of the Romanian Delegation

Constantin Oancea, leader of the Romanian delegation, vice minister of foreign affairs, pointed out that Romania devotes a special attention to the relations with the neighbouring countries and the situation in the Balkans in general and has undertaken a series of steps for the development of cooperation of good neighbourliness, understanding, and security in the region. Romania is for still more important steps towards a closer cooperation in the Balkans and the creation of a nuclear-chemical-weapon and military bases-free zone. We uphold, he said, that it is possible and necessary that all the Balkan states act with the same desire, to cooperate so as to create conditions for holding a summit conference of the Balkan countries in Bucharest, which will further strengthen the confidence and cooperation in this zone.

He expressed Romania's readiness to further the idea of creating a research institute for the Balkan economic cooperation. Likewise, the head of the Romanian delegation dwelt on a number of inter-Balkan activities to be conducted in Romania. My country, Oancea said, will adopt all the measures to prepare the experts' conference related to the measures on confidence and security, to be held in Bucharest over the second quarter of this year. Concerning the possibilities of enhancing cooperation among the Balkan countries in the field of industry, cooperation, and specialization in production, he proposed to have a round table organized with representatives of science and technique of the Balkan countries to exchange views.

The Romanian delegation, said Oancea in conclusion, agrees in principle with the next conference of the ministers of foreign affairs from the Balkan countries being held in accordance with the principle of rotation and with its being preceded by a meeting of the representatives of the foreign ministries at the level to be agreed.

From the Speech of the Head of the Turkish Delegation

We have come together, said the Turkish delegation, deputy under secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs, Tansug Bleda, to search for the ways and means of enhancing Balkan cooperation, which we began in Sofia, on the basis of the political will expressed in Belgrade meeting. But we have the historic responsibility to turn into action our common aspirations for peace, confidence, stability, and goodwill in the Balkans. In this context, we notice with satisfaction that many of these ideals are finally taking shape. The head of the Turkish delegation said that there exist many fields to extend cooperation in the region. Experience has shown, he said, that the mutual understanding and trust are essential in the development and promotion of the multilateral cooperation. In this direction, we could make a major contribution to the cultivation of a positive atmosphere, conducive to the implementation of these common objectives by removing all obstacles which hamper the promotion of good will and understanding.

Turkey, he said, is of the opinion that the success of the multilateral Balkan cooperation is closely dependent upon the improvement of the bilateral relations and the timely resolution of the outstanding bilateral issues. We, Tansug Bleda said, express our conviction that the Balkan cooperation should be composed of three dimensions: in the field of security, economy, and the humanitarian one. We are for a balanced progress on all these three fronts. A high number of proposals on cooperation, he said, have been put forward at the Belgrade and Sofia meetings. Our opinion is that first and foremost we should confine our attention to these proposals and to concentrate our efforts on putting them into practice.

In conclusion, Tansug Bleda emphasized Turkey's willingness to make its contribution to promote the cause of greater understanding and confidence among the Balkan countries.

From the Speech of the Head of the Yugoslav Delegation

Milivoje Maksic, federal deputy secretary of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, stressed that, just all the delegations, he thanks the organising country for the warm hospitality. We are all aware of the great efforts invested by our Albanian colleagues in the consultations conducted during the past few months in order to bring our views closer as much as possible. The time that has passed after the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries serves as an encouragement, but also imposes certain obligations.

In Belgrade, in February 1988, all the participants were inspired by the wish to open not only new but also enduring processes of good neighbourly relations in the Balkans. The head of the Yugoslav delegation hailed the activity conducted among the Balkan countries and spoke of the contribution made by Yugoslavia in this

field. Concerning the creation of the atmosphere of confidence he pointed out that rightly in the Belgrade meeting the national minorities were described as a factor of cohesion, stability, friendly relations and cooperation. In dwelling on some concrete proposals, Maksic said that the resort town of Split is ready to host of the Balkan Olympiad of Young Mathematicians in 1.89 [as received]. Likewise, the Yugoslav artists will not fail to participate in the art exhibition in Bucharest and in the classical music festival in Athens. The festival of the folk dance ensembles to be held in Ohrid of Macedonia later will create new possibilities to know more of and to bring our peoples closer with one another, whereas the meeting of the writers of the Balkan countries in 1989 in the town of Bor will be another cultural event for these countries. Regarding the cooperation in the struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking, he recalled Yugoslavia's proposal that a meeting of respective experts be held in this country in June. Besides, he repeated the proposal that at the end of this year or early next year, the meeting of the mayors of the Balkan capitals be held in Belgrade. Concerning the meeting of the committees of Balkan understanding and cooperation to be held in Tirana this year, the head of the Yugoslav delegation believed that Albania's innovative idea, approved in the Belgrade meeting, will find concrete realisation.

According to the criterion of the alphabetical order, Milivoje Maksic proposed that the coming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs be held in Tirana by the beginning of the coming year. In conclusion, he stressed that the speech of the minister of foreign affairs and the address to the meeting by the prime minister of the PSR of Albania were inspiring.

From the Speech of the Head of the Albanian Delegation

In his speech, the vice-minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, said among others that the Albanian delegation considers this meeting important viewing it as a further promotion of the Balkan cooperation, being convinced that through sincere and joint efforts, this process may be carried ahead to the benefit of a more healthful atmosphere of trust and understanding in our peninsula. He pointed out the positive steps made in the direction of the bilateral cooperation since the Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers and Sofia meeting. These steps show that numerous possibilities exist to enhance this cooperation and with goodwill the existing difficulties be overcome and hindrances be removed to pave the road to a broader and all-sided development of the Balkan relations. Further on he said that as is known, one of the important recommendations of the foreign ministers' conference was that on the role that should be played by national minorities, as factors of cohesion and stability inside the country and as bridges of connection and cooperation among the neighbouring countries and on regional scale.

Contemporary practice proves that the pursuance of such a policy serves the strengthening of trust, friendship, and security among the neighbouring countries.

Then Muhamet Kapllani dwelt on the activities of the past year, which have led to the development of bilateral cooperation between our country and the other Balkan countries. He said that the Albanian Government, consistent in the policy of good neighbourliness, considers understanding and trust not merely as a necessity, but as an indispensability realized through the friendly relations. In accord with the recommendations of the Belgrade foreign ministers' conference, the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation resumed its activity. It is working to establish contacts with the analogue committees and organisms of the Balkan countries, aiming at finding out the main directions of cooperation among them, for strengthening the understanding and friendship among our peoples. During 1988 Albania has taken part in and has made efforts to make its contribution to a number of multilateral Balkan activities. One of them was the meeting of the ministers of transport of the Balkan states, which showed that when fields of common interest are searched of and identified and when constructive efforts are made by all parties, it becomes possible that concrete activities be conducted and positive results be attained. After pointing out some other activities too, where our country has participated, he underlined that a spirit of understanding and constructive cooperation is displayed there.

In continuation, Muhamet Kapllani said: From the consultations conducted with all the states of the region and from what was said here on the coming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states, I have the satisfaction to express the readiness of my government that Albania be the host country of this meeting in 1990. On this occasion I want to sincerely thank all the delegations which voiced their opinions that this meeting be held in Tirana.

In conclusion, he emphasized that stability, peace, and security of the Balkans are first-hand duties for all the countries of the region. The process of understanding and cooperation serves this duty, just as they too cannot advance if stability and peace lack.

At this the proceedings of the morning sitting ended. The meeting of the vice ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkans continued its proceeding on January 18 afternoon according to the agenda.

BTA Reports on Ganev Speech
AU1801193989 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT
18 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (special BTA correspondent)—Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria was the first to speak at the second meeting of top-level representatives of the Balkan states foreign affairs ministers, which opened in this country today.

After giving a high assessment of the conditions for work provided by the hosts, Mr Ganev stressed that the meeting's agenda is a good base for detailed discussion on the most topical aspects of the all-Balkan cooperation.

The Bulgarian representative attached particular significance to the results from the meeting in Sofia. He emphasized that the will of the Balkan states to provide the continuation of the line adopted in the Yugoslav capital was confirmed by the agreement of an extensive programme for actions.

A proof of this is the fact that the initiatives outlined in Sofia are successfully being materialized.

An important step forward to the drafting of an agreement on preservation of the environment on the peninsula was made at the meeting of experts held in the town of Pravets.

Numbering the topics to be discussed, Mr Ivan Ganev dwelled in detail on the growing significance of political cooperation, a sphere which is gaining particular importance in the present favourable trends in the international situation.

There is a wide field for actions in the sphere of strengthening of confidence, security and disarmament in the Balkans. The process of detente and disarmament which has started in Europe gives a fresh meaning to the idea of setting up of a nuclear- and chemical- weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian representative spoke of Bulgaria's readiness to actively work for development of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, where there is a field for useful and necessary initiatives.

AGERPRES on Oancea Address

*AU1801201689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1947 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Text] Tirana AGERPRES, 18/1/1989—Taking the floor on Wednesday, January 18, during a meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan states, under way in Tirana, Constantin Oancea, head of the Romanian delegation, outlined his country's stance on the need for a radical shift in the whole international life, for the promotion of a new way of thinking and action and, in that context, highlighted the constant attention Romania pays to the development of bilateral and multilateral collaboration with the other Balkan states, to the transformation of that area into a zone of peace and collaboration, free of nuclear and chemical weapons—targets that are seen in a close connection—without foreign military bases and troops. The speaker pointed out that like relations could offer an example of coexistence in the diversity of social and political systems, of allegiances to different political, military or economic groups. Romania considers that if a will to cooperate actively is shown that it is both possible and necessary that all the states of that area work perseveringly

for the creation of conditions to call a Balkan summit in Bucharest, which is intended to impart further dimensions to confidence building and the strengthening of cooperation in the area. The participants in the meeting were informed of a number of cooperation ventures in various areas, which are to be organized by Romania in 1989.

Albanian Press Views Meeting

*AU1801114589 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT
18 Jan 89*

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—Today's newspapers devote an important place to the meeting of the vice ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states, which will begin its proceedings in Tirana today. They carry articles wishing success to this meeting. Under the title "Success to the Balkan Meeting of Tirana," the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes that the vast exchange of opinions at this meeting on many questions of the Balkan cooperation will make another contribution to the consolidation of the positive tendencies in our region, favouring understanding, confidence, and friendship among our peoples. Looking forward to this event with special interest, the Albanian people and our public opinion extend to the Balkan meeting of Tirana warm greetings and sincere wishes for success in its proceedings in service of peace and security, friendship and more fruitful cooperation in the region of the Balkans.

Socialist Albania has continuously been and is interested in the peace and understanding among the peoples of the Balkans, in the security and stability of this region. Consistent in the policy of good neighbourliness and friendship with the peoples and countries of the Balkans, our country and the Albanian Government have always made and make their unsparing contribution to attain this goal and to the joint interests of the Balkan peoples, interests which are linked by their common destinies.

This three-day meeting of mere working character will review the hitherto experience and achievements of the initiatives in the framework of Balkan cooperation for the year 1988, fixing at the same time the exact timetable and the venue of the activities during the current year, and offering recommendations on the later activities. The Tirana meeting will make evident their important values with the common and good aim to further consolidate cooperation among the Balkan countries.

Appreciating the importance the Balkan region has not only with regard to its peace and security, but also to the European and world one, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people express the conviction that the participating states in the Balkan meeting of Tirana will display the necessary political will to carry ahead the dialogue to the benefit of cooperation, understanding, and confidence among the peoples and countries of the Balkans. On this occasion the Albanian people once again wish the important Balkan meeting of

Tirana good work and successes in achieving ever better results in the development and consolidation of the friendly bilateral and multilateral relations to the benefit of peace and stability in our region.

On its part the newspaper BASHKIMI writing on the Balkan meeting of Tirana points out that it follows a number of activities on regional scale such as the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in Belgrade, that of the senior officials of the foreign ministries in Sofia, those regarding common problems of transport, ecology, economy at government and non-government levels. It follows from the results of these meetings and the interest those have aroused in the Balkans, Europe, and in the world that the first steps have already been made forward towards a positive process undertaken by all the states of our peninsula for the affirmation of three basic notions which come to the fore with regard to rapprochement of the peoples of the Balkans: cooperation, understanding, and confidence.

The process going on shows that through joint efforts a fruitful cooperation may be reached which would cover both the bilateral and multilateral relations in the region. The countries of our region are displaying their determination to create closer relations, on a stable basis and not conjunctural one, in the political, economic, trade, cultural, scientific, and other relations, as efficient means for rapprochement and friendship among the peoples. The stress is laid on the traditional factors uniting them. The further cooperation among the Balkan countries, which are linked by historic fates, joint interests, and obligations, creating conditions for the defence of the independence, freedom, progress of each country separately, is considered as a process which does not hinder, but on the contrary exerts a positive impact in the relations of the countries of the region with Europe and the world.

Determined to make progress in the process of their cooperation, in spite of different difficulties related with old prejudices and feuds, frequently instigated by external interferences in their affairs, the Balkan peoples have shown that they can erect a solid barricade to the efforts of those who oppose peace to keep the Balkans as a "powder keg." The peninsula belongs to the peoples living for centuries in it and it is they who must decide jointly on their fates, counter [word indistinct] the external negative factors. [passage omitted]

Statements by Polish Minister on Paris Conference

Prior to Conference

AU1301154189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7-8 Jan 89 p 9

[Report by Włodzimierz Zralek: "Statement by Minister Olechowski"]

[Text] On his arrival in Paris on Friday [6 January] evening, Minister Olechowski, the head of the Polish delegation, made the following statement to TRYBUNA LUDU:

"We are pleased to accept the invitation that President Francois Mitterand extended to the more than 140 participants in the Paris meeting. This session will go down in the whole range of disarmament activities and concerns the vitally important question of eliminating chemical weapons.

"The fact that a representative of our country, Ambassador B. Sujka, is chairman of a special committee that is preparing a draft the international convention concerning a ban on chemical weapons attests to Poland's active involvement in the Geneva negotiations that have been ongoing for many years.

"While indicating the importance we attach to the basic purpose of the Paris meeting, I do not conceal the fact that it will provide me, as well as other foreign ministers, with an opportunity to hold numerous bilateral meetings. Some of these meetings have already been arranged by telephone or through our diplomatic representations.

"I hope the meeting scheduled with H.D. Genscher for Monday [9 January] will make it possible to achieve progress in the concrete issues we are discussing in our dialogue with the FRG. The bilateral talks that will be held with the foreign ministers of Italy and Finland will deal with plans for visits to Poland in 1989 by the heads of these states. I also attach great importance to the meeting with Spain's representative, because, as of 1 January, Spain is chairing the EEC Council of Ministers, and we are currently holding talks on an economic and trade agreement with that organization.

"Of course, apart from the bilateral talks that I have mentioned, there will definitely be opportunities for many other meetings."

After Conference

AU1701102689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Jan 89 p 6

[Report by PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki: "Statement by Minister Olechowski—Success at the Paris 'C' Weapons Conference"]

[Text] Paris. The Paris conference on banning chemical weapons ended on Wednesday. In connection with this, Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, chairman of the Polish delegation, issued a statement to the press, in which he evaluated the course and outcome of this international meeting. He said, among other things:

The Paris conference has taken place at a time when positive tendencies in the international situation are consolidating. This situation is marked by an intensification of disarmament talks.

The conference and general debate, in which 110 people spoke, and the outcome thereof, shows that the delegations had come with the assumption that the entire

category of mass-destruction weapons, particularly dangerous in view of their easy and cheap manufacture and easy access to the necessary ingredients, should be eliminated as quickly as possible.

The conference, continued the minister, proceeded in a climate conducive to the seeking of constructive solutions. We noted with satisfaction that a solid majority of the delegations shared our conviction that a convention on a universal and total ban on chemical weapons is the best way to prevent their use.

Everyone, without exception, contributed to the success of this conference, which permits the hope that they will also participate in implementing the provisions of the declaration. Deserving particular emphasis is the constructive contribution of the Soviet delegation, especially that of its chairman, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who, in his speech, expounded upon the well-known program to totally eliminate mass-destruction weapons, including chemical weapons, by the end of the 20th century, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev. Shevardnadze presented a clear direction in which work on the convention should proceed.

One should also mention the important role played by France, the host of the conference, T. Olechowski added.

Its delegation played a commendable role as mediator during the conference, inspiring the search for joint solutions.

Our delegation, together with those of the other socialist countries, has done everything possible to bring about positive results. It is worth recalling that the quickest possible conclusion to work on the convention to ban chemical weapons is one of the priorities of the Warsaw Pact's foreign policy, in the sphere of disarmament.

In recognition of Poland's long commitment to the cause of banning chemical weapons, we have been appointed one of the chairmen of the conference.

The Committee for Chemical Weapons of the disarmament conference is commencing another session in Geneva in a few days. Three weeks later, the disarmament conference itself will commence its work. We hope that the support for this multilateral forum of disarmament negotiations given by the Paris conference will provide an opportunity to intensify work on the convention. This opportunity must not be wasted. On its part, Poland will increase its efforts to bring about the realization of the declaration that has been unanimously adopted in Paris.

Zhivkov Interviewed Prior to Mitterrand Visit
AU1601154389 Sofia BTA in English
1431 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, had a meeting today with the foreign policy editor of the LE MONDE daily Mr. Jacques Amalric and with the journalist of the same paper Silvie Kofmann. They interviewed him on the occasion of the forthcoming official visit in Bulgaria of France's President Mr. Francois Mitterrand. The talk held after the interview included a wide range of questions of the Bulgaro-French relations and the international situation. Special attention was paid to the restructuring underway in Bulgaria.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov gave also an interview for Antenne 1 of the French Television. He answered in detail to the questions of journalists Dominique Bromberger and Isabelle de Biancours.

French President Mitterrand Continues Visit

Zhivkov-Mitterrand Talks
AU1801202089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] At the invitation of State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov, the state visit of Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, and his wife to Bulgaria began today. [passage omitted]

The two state leaders then held a meeting. They continued their talks during a working luncheon, which was also attended by Foreign Ministers Petur Mladenov and Roland Dumas.

At the same time, French ministers and other officials held talks in the Boyana Residence with their Bulgarian counterparts.

Official Bulgarian-French talks took place in the afternoon. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and President Francois Mitterrand made a comprehensive review of the state of and prospects for the bilateral relation. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian-French talks took place today in a friendly and constructive atmosphere and in a spirit of frankness. They were businesslike and rich in content. [passage omitted]

After the official talks, Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Council of the Sofia City People's Council, presented the Badge of Honor of the City of Sofia to French President Francois Mitterrand and his wife in the Boyana Residence.

President Francois Mitterrand laid a wreath at the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier in Sofia. [Words indistinct] he had a conversation in the Holy Synod with Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim.

The French guests visited and examined with great interest the Aleksandr Nevskiy Memorial Cathedral and its crypt. [passage omitted]

Signs Agreement With Zhivkov
AU1801193489 Sofia BTA in English
1848 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—Bulgaria and France confirmed their readiness to give considerable impetus to the bilateral cooperation.

At the official talks held here, which started with a private meeting between France's President Mr Francois Mitterrand, the opinion was expressed that the present dialogue is very constructive, friendly, businesslike, and it will open a new page in the traditional relations between the two countries.

According to Mr Mitterrand, his visit represents a serious new upsurge in the bilateral cooperation.

Mr Zhivkov expressed wishes that France will occupy once again one of the first places among Bulgaria's Western partners.

Viewing the present condition of the relations between Bulgaria and France, it was ascertained that despite the great mutual interest they do not correspond to the desired level. It was pointed out that the existing possibilities are exceptionally great and they should be utilized to the maximum.

An agreement was reached according to which the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and France will meet every year.

It was ascertained that the economic reforms in Bulgaria favour the broadening of the bilateral relations. In this connection emerged the idea for the establishment of a joint bank.

Great attention was paid to the opportunities for technological cooperation in agriculture, biotechnologies, informatics, and joint research. The two sides will broaden their relations in tourism, construction, and communications.

It was pointed out that cultural relations will also deepen.

Discussing the international situation, the two sides noted that the international relations are undergoing positive development and that Bulgaria and France give and can continue to give serious contribution in that direction. At the meeting in Paris on banning chemical weapons and at the conclusive stage of the Vienna meeting, both states had stood in support of the positive

tendencies in the development of the international relations. They will take part constructively and will cooperate for the achievement of success at the talks on conventional weapons reduction in March.

On the Bulgarian side the talks were attended by: Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning; Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations; Mr Anton Popov, chairman of the Communications Association; and Mr Luchezar Avramov, chairman of the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Recreation.

On the French side the talks were attended by: Mr Roland Dumas, minister of state, minister of foreign affairs; Mr Paul Quiles, minister of posts, telecommunications, and space; Mr Hubert Curien, minister of research and technology; Mr Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade; Mr Olivier Stirn, minister delegate attached to the Ministry of Industry and Land Management responsible for tourism; Mr Theo Vial-Massat, chairman of the France-Bulgaria Group for Friendship at the National Assembly; and Mr Guy Pen, chairman of the France-Bulgaria Group for Friendship at the Senate.

Before the beginning of the official talks between the respective Bulgarian and French partners, talks were held at which the two sides discussed concrete projects for future cooperation.

After the completion of the official talks, in the presence of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Francois Mitterrand, four documents were signed: intergovernmental agreements for legal assistance on civil cases and for cooperation in veterinary work, an intergovernmental credit agreement, and a protocol on the establishment of a Bulgaro-French centre for training of administrative personnel.

Awards Exchanged at Ceremony

AU1801205789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] A solemn ceremony was held this evening in the Boyana Residence in Sofia, at which State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov presented the Stara Planina Order with ribbon to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic. This high distinction had been awarded to him by the State Council for his great services to the development of Bulgarian-French relations. Mme Mitterrand was presented with the Order [words indistinct].

For his part, President Francois Mitterrand presented State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov with the Grand Cross, the highest degree of the Legion of Honor. This is the highest award of the French Republic, which is awarded for exceptional services to France and to her great friends.

Later State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov gave an official dinner in the Boyana Residence in honor of Francois Mitterrand and his wife.

Human Rights Not Mentioned

LD1801174189 Paris Domestic Service in French
1700 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Francois Mitterrand arrived in Sofia this morning aboard a special Airbus for a 2-day official visit, the first by a French president to Bulgaria.

During a first private round of talks, Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov showed himself to be very much in favor of Mikhail Gorbachev's ideas, and of restructuring.

Elysee spokesman Hubert Vedrine pointed out that the specific situation of human rights and the fate of their supporters who oppose the communist regime were not mentioned during these talks, except during an exchange of views on the substantial results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in particular under the human dimension section, to which the Sofia regime has subscribed.

France To Give Economic Aid

LD1801190789 Paris Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Francois Mitterrand is in Sofia. It is the first official visit by a French president to Bulgaria. As he did 6 weeks ago in Prague, the head of state stressed human rights from the outset, and above all his concept of the European Community, which should not be introverted. On his part, Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov assured Mr Mitterrand of his will to head in the direction of restructuring for his country. On the line from Sofia is our special correspondent, Fabrice le Quintrec:

[Le Quintrec] [passage omitted] During their private talks and their working lunch today, Todor Zhivkov made a point of presenting himself to his guest as the champion of change and modernization in that order. He called for a strengthening of trade between Paris and Sofia, and he has already partially been heard; France is to open a credit line of 700 million francs for Bulgaria and will take part in the renovation of Sofia airport.

For his part, Francois Mitterrand clearly pointed out to his counterpart that this Europe of the Twelve which is being built in the West does not want to cut itself off from the rest of the world, and above all from the other Europe, from which history has kept it apart for too long.

This afternoon Francois Mitterrand added a small supplement to the official program. After laying flowers at the Monument to the Unknown Soldier, he laid a single rose on the tomb of the poet Ivan Vlasov, who died at the beginning of the century and is the symbol of the Resistance and the Bulgarian soul, a glance toward the real country.

Trade Protocol Signed With PRC for 1989
AU1801140189 Sofia BTA in English
1317 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Beijing, January 18 (BTA correspondent)—A protocol for goods exchange and payments between Bulgaria and China for 1989 was signed today in Beijing, envisaging the growth of bilateral trade to increase by 15 percent as compared with last year's turnout and by 21 per cent in comparison with the planned long-term trade agreement.

Bulgaria is to export to China I.C.E. [internal-combustion-engined] trucks, trucks, equipment for the foodstuff industry, products of the electronics, metals, etc., [as received] and will import pharmaceutical raw materials, hops, metals, chemicals, fabrics, various commodity goods, textile machines, etc. It was agreed that the two sides would expand the types of mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with the mutual construction of projects, industrial cooperation and setting up of joint stock companies.

Anniversary of Albanian Republic Marked
AU1201202989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Historical Date"]

[Text] The people of Albania are celebrating 11 January as the date of the anniversary of their country's proclamation as a people's republic. As is known, elections for a constituent assembly took place on that date by the end of 1945 in this Balkan country. The progressive forces were rallied in a Democratic Front under the leadership of the communist party, which later became the Albanian Workers Party [AWP], and achieved a convincing victory. Over 93 percent of the voters voted for the candidates of the front. The newly elected constituent assembly adopted decisions of historic importance at the 11 January session and announced the overthrow of the monarchy in the following declaration: "The Albanian people, who are masters of their own destinies, freely and unanimously decided through the constituent assembly, which is the executor of their will, that Albania shall become a people's republic." A little later, in March 1945, the country's first democratic Constitution was adopted.

This is how the historical achievements of the Albanian people were confirmed and opportunities opened up for the country's socioeconomic transformation. The successes achieved during the following decades in various spheres of economic and cultural life would have been unthinkable without the decision adopted on 11 January 1945.

Albania has a multi-branch industry today, which within 2 days produces more than the total output of all of 1938. Agricultural production exceeds the prewar level by 5.3 times, while the per capita national income has increased over 5 times.

The Ninth AWP Congress, which was held in November 1986, adopted the further consolidation of the socialist system as its main task.

The similar historical fate and a common goal—the construction of socialist society—are the factors which promote the development of bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Albania. The existing, mutually advantageous economic relations are based on the long-term agreement on exchange of goods and payments signed for the 1986-1990 period.

On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of Albania as a people's republic, the Bulgarian people convey their most sincere congratulations to the working people of Albania, expressing their confidence that the development of cooperation between the two socialist states will assume new dimensions in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

Joint Stock Company With UK Established
AU1301084389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 p 2

[Mara Georgieva report: "BIOKEM Joint Stock Company Established"]

[Text] The BIOKEM joint stock company which was established in Sofia yesterday will merge the efforts of the Burgas NEFTOKHIM Economic Association, the Devnya Economic Association, the AGROBIOKHM Economic Association, the KHMIMPOT Trade Company, and the BIOKHM Trade Bank, as well as the efforts of the British company, Billy Bros International. The basic trends in the work of BIOKEM will be to finance the production of goods for the domestic market and for export, to provide effective and prompt supplies of raw materials, and spare parts for the chemical industry and chemical engineering.

At the first constituent meeting of the BIOKEM Executive Council, management organs were elected and a general program for the development of the company during the 1989-1992 period was adopted.

Petko Danchev, chairman of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, attended the constituent meeting.

Mikhaylovgrad Plenum Appoints New Secretary
AU1301163389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1600 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] A plenum of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee was held today. Organizational questions were discussed. The plenum relieved Trifon Pashov, former first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee, of his duties because of his transfer to other work.

Atanas Konstantinov, chairman of the Sofia Oblast People's Council Executive Committee, was elected first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee in Pashov's place.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov participated in the plenum.

George Shultz' 'Impertinent Attacks' Condemned
LD1901094989 Prague CTK in English
0825 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 19 (CTK)—“The U.S. Government has the least right to present itself as a human rights advocate anywhere in the world and the ‘mischance’ that met Secretary of State George Shultz on Tuesday [17 January] at the end of his career gave it a satirical top” RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

In an article titled “In The Role of a Prosecutor?” the daily recalled that almost at the same time when George Shultz attacked from the tribune of the Vienna meeting several socialist countries and condemned Czechoslovakia in connection with the provocative action of dissident groups in Prague’s Wenceslas Square, new civic unrest broke out in Miami with fire and even shooting.

The daily pointed out that George Shultz “abused the joint agreement of 35 countries and started to pass the U.S. explanation of the Vienna document for the one decisive in international relations. In this he made at least one mistake—no international document can throw doubt on the right of every state to defend its laws,” the daily stressed.

RUDE PRAVO pointed out that besides Radio Free Europe it is also the Voice of America, the official station of the U.S. Government, that incites Czechoslovak citizens “to demonstrations and actions directed against the socialist system and even gives instructions where the people should meet. This is no more mere interference, it is a direct provocation,” the daily said recalling that “the Helsinki Final Act explicitly commits its signatories not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states.”

“We stand for a dialogue with the U.S. Administration, we want to develop our relations to the benefit of both sides. On our side there is not only good will, willingness and political decision, we are also ready to constructively develop such a dialogue,” the daily said adding, however, that “we cannot remain silent about the impertinent attacks against our homeland. We are only defending our honour and dignity, we are defending the inalienable right of every state represented at the Vienna meeting,” the daily concluded.

Shultz Statements ‘A Pity’

LD1801215189 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Editor Michal Berko commentary]

[Text] Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said clearly in his speech in Vienna that the course of action by state bodies against the people who have taken part in the recent provocation in Prague cannot be described as a violation of the provisions on human rights. The foreign minister was replying to U.S. Secretary of State George

Shultz, for example, who, metaphorically speaking, gave a green light to a campaign against Czechoslovakia. Editor Michal Berko comments on the background:

[Berko] To tell the truth, the declarations by outgoing U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz about Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries puzzled me, especially because he had been well acquainted with the preparations for this action in Prague and the intentions of its organizers. The U.S. radio stations Voice of America and Radio Free Europe spoke in a well-informed manner and in great detail about them.

One can imagine what the U.S. authorities would do if, for example, Czechoslovak radio publicized the intentions of a group of people who were not satisfied with the situation in the United States. The pictures and reports on the current happenings in Miami, Florida, where the black inhabitants of the United States are protesting against racial discrimination, are only a vague notion of what could happen there.

George Shultz’s declarations about us therefore disappoint me and do not do him credit as a politician, the cocreator of the historic disarmament treaties that have been achieved, or his undoubtedly great services to improving Soviet-U.S. relations. His declarations looked more like the gesture of a stubborn man who deep down never accepted those changes in the world, particularly in Europe, which took place after World War II. Furthermore, his declarations were not appropriate for the great moment for Europe—the conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE.

George Shultz has shown again that, in spite of the interest shown by our side on more than one occasion in normalizing relations between Prague and Washington, such interest has never been serious in Washington. In spite of several visits to Prague by members of the U.S. Congress and Administration, and in spite of these talks, the Capitol holds on to stereotypes from the past. It is merely regrettable that it was a man and politician like George Shultz who has made these more alive. What a pity.

Palach Death Protests Continue for 4th Day

AU1801183789 Paris AFP in English
1826 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 18 (AFP)—Thousands of chanting people gathered in Wenceslas Square here Wednesday [18 January] for the fourth straight day, trying to edge toward the statue where a student burned himself to death 20 years ago, as police pushed them back.

Shouting “Freedom”, “Courage”, “Let us up”, “Charter 77 lives”, some 5,000 demonstrators struggled to reach the site of Jan Palach’s suicide protest before dispersing peacefully. Riot police did not intervene.

Police have used water cannons, tear gas and dogs to break up similar demonstrations which began Sunday in memory of Jan Palach's protest on January 16, 1969, against the Soviet-led invasion which crushed Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring reforms.

Police "deliberately provoked" most of the incidents here in the past few days, a spokesman for the human rights organization Charter 77 charged in a message to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, closing in Vienna.

Delegates from East and West have agreed a wide-ranging human rights treaty at the conference.

Charter 77 spokesman Tomas Hradilek cited "police brutality toward a peaceful population" and said 14 dissidents arrested in the square Monday were jailed "not for having laid bombs, but flowers" in Jan Palach's memory.

But the Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO called the violence "provocative action fomented by anti-state elements" for "Western television cameras".

It accused U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz of flouting principles of "non-interference in other states' internal affairs" after he criticized Czechoslovakia over human rights at the Vienna conference.

Amid the continuing unrest, Czechoslovakia's official news media issued appeals for calm, as did the official trade unions' leadership.

Charter 77's 20 spokesmen meanwhile said they will observe a symbolic hunger strike on Sunday "to protest against the illegal detention of a large number of...Charter 77 representatives and others" who wanted to honor Jan Palach's memory.

Quoting witnesses, Charter 77 also said dozens of people detained here in the past few days have been bused out to the countryside and left there at night after police confiscated their identity papers.

Further Demonstration Expected

LD1901090189 Hamburg DPA in German
0811 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, (DPA)—Human rights organizations have announced that there will be a further demonstration in Prague city center this afternoon to mark the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach. Demonstrations in memory of the student, who burned himself to death as a protest against the invasion of the CSSR by Warsaw Pact troops, have been going on since Sunday [15 January].

Police used water cannon, dogs, truncheons, and tear gas against demonstrators and also against those uninvolved on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, but they kept a low

profile yesterday in spite of a massive presence. They allowed a crowd estimated at 5,000 to demonstrate until the crowd dispersed of its own accord after singing the national anthem.

The police did not even act against human rights activists who addressed a crowd in the city center at the memorial to Wenceslas. Even shouts of "democracy", "svoboda" (freedom), and (party leader) "Jakes out" did not generate police action. They had obviously been instructed not to intervene, although "resolutions" from numerous Prague enterprises called for "hard action" against the demonstrators.

'Misuse' of Palach Death Seen

AU1801151689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vlastimil Bradac, Michal Podzimek, and Karel Walter: "The Intention Is Clear—To Provoke Unrest; On the Misuse of the Anniversary of the Student Jan Palach's Tragic Death"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondents)—As we have already reported, on Sunday, 15 January, several groups made up of antistate elements attempted to stage a provocation in Wenceslas Square. Their aim was to misuse the anniversary of the meaningless suicide of the student J. Palach. Another attempt at a similar provocation was carried out on Monday.

The circumstances that led the philosophy student of Prague's Charles University to his meaningless gesture, which resulted in his pointless death, were expounded on by RUDE PRAVO on 12 January, in the article "It Was Hazardous." We also reported that the same forces, often even represented by the same names, were preparing a "meeting in memory of the student Palach" in the center of Prague. The internal affairs section of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-I refused to grant the request, which several dissidents signed, to hold the meeting. Meanwhile, public opinion has been aroused by an anonymous letter which let one of the "Chartists" know that "one human torch would flare up again on the afternoon of 15 January 1989 in Wenceslas Square near the statue of the horse."

This is why the state administration took appropriate measures. Together with members of the public security corps, members of the people's militia from Prague factories helped to safeguard order in the capital on Sunday. In spite of this, provocateurs attempted, according to a scenario that was prepared in advance, to stage a demonstration near the statue of St Wenceslas with the aim of provoking a clash at any price and inciting an atmosphere of unrest.

What did happen on Sunday, in fact? Before 1400, a group of around 300 people began to form in the central zone of Wenceslas Square. They responded to appeals to

leave the area by whistling and hurling insults at members of the public security corps and the people's militia. The order-enforcing units took swift and energetic action and pushed these groups out into Vodickova, Jindriska, and Opletalova Streets. They also intervened in other parts of the city center, including Red Army Square.

To be honest, it was not a cheerful spectacle. When the first call for calm was made, an adult man threw himself on the ground and began kicking a great deal, in an attempt to draw attention to himself. A 5-year-old girl on the shoulders of her father, in turn, is evidently supposed to serve as some sort of a shield in his "self-defense." A small group of young people regard their participation as great fun; as these rowdies, running at full speed, disappear into the through-passages and doorways of the surrounding houses, they ruthlessly knock down curious onlookers. Several elderly citizens were injured by this.

Order in the center of Prague was restored by the early evening, and a total of 91 citizens were brought before the public security corps. Some of these citizens are also being prosecuted on criminal charges. Many participants in the unauthorized demonstration were not taking part in such an antisocialist event for the first time.

On Monday, 16 January, some groups attempted to stage another provocative action at the same place. They chose the time prior to 1600 when Wenceslas Square tends to be filled with the largest crowd. The provocative actions have caused much inconvenience to the users of public transport and shoppers in the center of Prague. This time, too, order-enforcing units were compelled to intervene.

So much for the events in Prague. At the beginning of January, three men visited the totally unsuspecting residents of the house in Vsetaty, Melnik District, where the Palach family used to live. They came to ask for a "permit" to put up a plaque in J. Palach's memory on the front of the house. The 75-year-old woman who lives in the house turned them down and referred them to the local national committee. The "delegation" that was sent to Vsetaty by Prague dissidents therefore knocked on the doors of Josef Jindra, chairman of the local national committee, and Milan Klaska, its secretary. However, the uninvited visitors did not meet with the understanding of either functionary, and so they even resorted to threats: "Next time you do not have to be elected," they declared extortionately. Following a lengthy discussion, the "delegation," which could not even properly introduce itself, left the national committee in Vsetaty empty-handed....

We spoke to both functionaries a few days later. "We do not know much about the Palach family. His mother died in 1980 and had sold her house even before that. The father died even before his son committed his tragic deed. None of his family lives in the village. Today we have different, more important things to worry about," Milan Klaska, secretary of the local national committee, said.

CTK Report

CTK has issued the following report on Monday's [16 January] provocative event, to which we refer in the aforementioned contribution:

Groups of antistate elements made an attempt to continue Sunday's provocation in Wenceslas Square in Prague, under the pretext of the anniversary of Jan Palach's suicide. Despite repeated appeals by the public security corps to disperse, the provocateurs disrupted public order with their aggressive behavior. Full responsibility for this is borne by the event's initiators from the so-called independent structures, including Charter 77. In order to ensure order and the safety of the inhabitants of and visitors to Prague, members of the order-enforcing units of the public security corps were compelled to take resolute action against these elements.

In harmony with Czechoslovak law, some organizers of the provocative event were detained for their gross and repeated breach and for not obeying the appeals of the state bodies.

Wenceslas Square Actions Viewed

LD1901110689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The recent actions in Wenceslas Square can be viewed from different angles, and accordingly there can be differing views and assessments of them. One thing, however, is absolutely clear and undeniable: that this phenomenon is being extensively used in the West for political and propaganda goals. A most marked example of this are the attacks on our republic made at the final talks of the follow-up meeting to the Helsinki Final Act now under way in Vienna.

And it is not simply a matter of international distortion of the whole affair which is intended to show Czechoslovakia and socialism itself in a bad light. Some ministers interpret the steps taken against those who violate public order in Prague as an alleged violation of the statutes of the Final Act on human rights. To accept such an explanation would be the same as to deny the right and duty of every government to ensure that laws are upheld. And anyway, steps taken by the forces of order against the violators of law and public order are far from being a Czechoslovak speciality; they are an everyday occurrence precisely in those countries who are today's critics of Czechoslovakia.

These critics are clearly not concerned with human rights but rather with a veiled attack against the fundamental principles of the Final Act. Among these principles is also noninterference in the affairs of other countries. They are interested in sharpening conflict, stirring up the mud, and making the European process of detente and humanitarian development more difficult. The organizers of the provocative acts in Wenceslas Square are thus truly doing them a good turn. Does this happen by chance?

'Provocations' Condemned

LD1801173689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Today the Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the National Front acquainted itself with the standpoint of the Council of the National Committee of Prague on the provocation by antisocialist elements in the capital over the past few days, and expressed support for the National Committee.

It stated that a large number of honest citizens and members of political parties and of social and interest organizations united within the National Front and labor collectives have conveyed to the city and central organs a sharp condemnation of the provocations carried out by a group of persons hostile to socialism at the instigation of some Western media.

The Presidium of the City Committee of the National Front calls on all citizens of Prague to contribute to upholding calm and order with levelheaded attitudes and behavior. It appeals in particular to parents and teachers, foremen, and leading economic workers to explain to children, pupils, and colleagues the need to uphold the principles of calm coexistence in our capital and the dangers that they face from irresponsible provocateurs.

The Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the National Front supports all legal measures taken by the state administration organs, which are vital to secure calm and order in the city and are aimed against those who break laws and organize provocations.

Call for 'Rioters' To Be Isolated

LD1801132989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1300 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Deputies of the Committees for Culture and Educational Affairs of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations adopted a statement today on disturbances of public order by groups of rioters [vytrznik] in Prague. It stresses the fact that by their continuous attempts at antisocialist demonstrations, these groups are disturbing economic and social life in the center of the capital and the smooth flow of traffic. They do not have, however, any constructive program, and their means are assuming a strongly anti-state and antilaw character.

The deputies of the Committees for Culture and Educational Affairs appeal to the public to isolate the groups of rioters effectively. They appeal to the state organs to resolutely put an end to acts which undermine our effort to restructure society.

Publication of Charter 77 Member's Letter Noted
AU1801151589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Jan 89 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Text] The British press agency REUTER draws attention to Milan Machovec's letter published in the Saturday [14 January] issue of RUDE PRAVO, which warns against a repetition of the act of Jan Palach, who burned himself in Wenceslas Square 20 years ago. "This is the first time that the newspaper has published on its front page an appeal signed by a 'Charter' signatory," it writes. University Prof Milan Machovec used to be Palach's teacher. The letter is also mentioned by the French agency AFP.

Jakes Discusses Reforms, Relations With Cuba
FL1301222989 Havana Television Cubana Network
in Spanish 0145 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Interview with Secretary General Milos Jakes by Daisy Gomez on the "International View" program; in vernacular with simultaneous Spanish translation; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gomez] Greetings, esteemed viewers. CPCZ Secretary General Milos Jakes has had the courtesy to grant Cubana Television this interview.

Comrade Jakes, there currently are political, economic, and social changes taking place in several socialist countries. In your opinion, how is this process characterized in Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] First of all, I would like to say that there are many general aspects, common aspects, in this process. These common, general aspects consist of the following: The restructuring that is taking place involves an economic reform and continues the democratization of social life.

The essence of the economic reforms involve increased responsibility for the worker's collectives in the areas of self-financing and making efforts.

Also, we are after changes in central planning. This program's essence will be to substitute the administrative methods with more economical instruments, which is to say everything the enterprise will turn into the state. It will create a system that should raise the interest of the workers in the enterprises; it will captivate their interest and enhance development by introducing technology into production. This will improve performance to better satisfy society's needs by constantly increasing the quality of products.

Of course, this process will have its peculiarities, every country has them. The specifics will be determined by the level of economic development of the individual countries, as well as each country's development needs. The reason for every these measures is to accelerate economic development.

In Czechoslovakia, this process should be accompanied by the restructuring of our economy which, up to now, consumes much energy and metals. [Words indistinct] has been very diversified; it produced an exaggerated amount of the world's production, especially in the area of machinery. Reform should help solve all of these problems. I think that this process, which will also be accompanied by democratic processes, will open more room to apply the worker's initiatives, while at the same time the responsibilities of these workers are raised.

[Gomez] Comrade Jakes, what is the present phase of the economic restructuring and democratization processes in Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] Regarding the economic sector: The new economic system is being prepared to go into effect 1 January 1990. All the preparations are being made so that the program can begin at that time. We are trying this system in many enterprises. One of the important measures taken has been the enactment of a law on state enterprises. This law is characterized by [words indistinct] and rights. According to this law, new state enterprises will be established. This means that the organizational structure of existing enterprises has been changed. We are going to eliminate the middle link—that is to say the general direction of the enterprises—by establishing individual state enterprises.

At the same time, a series of other indispensable laws have been enacted to put into effect our restructuring process. A new work code is being prepared which will state the responsibilities of the enterprises and workers.

We are also preparing a series of new laws on state planning. Central planning will not be done away with. On the contrary, in a certain way it will be strengthened, but it will not worry about details. At the same time, we could talk about other laws that will be going into effect. These laws will deal with things such as taxes and quotas for the state.

These laws are so that the enterprises can work in the spirit of the economic reforms. The enterprises must be given legal guarantees so they can work in this system. Also, measures have been taken which deal with changing the work methods in the central organs by putting together several ministries. This has reduced the ministerial apparatus by 30 percent. We are trying to raise the quality of the work done by the ministries. They should not worry about the details, but rather promote the development of various branches.

Measures were taken that deal with the possibility of establishing enterprises with foreign participation.

Other measures were taken to give production enterprises more autonomy and independence, at the same time increasing their responsibilities so that the interests of society are satisfied. Society's interests must be imposed on this sphere of production. Society's interests should be in the center of the enterprises, as well as the CPCZ. If not, a situation might arise in which the enterprises, with these flexible rights, could abuse them. We must avoid the abuse of society by the enterprises; we cannot permit it.

Now I would like to talk to you about some very important actions taken: for example, restructuring of wholesale prices so that they truly represent costs and so that they are closer to world prices. This should create equality and justice at different levels so that one enterprise does not have an advantage over another enterprise. We must pressure the enterprises so that they can compete in the world.

The fundamental thing is that people should understand what the reform consists of to give us their backing. They should not expect salvation from the reform. In other words, they should not expect the reform to do it for them. It is the people who have to work; the reform will just break the boundaries that stopped people from accomplishing. A good job can support and give good results. The reform should create conditions for them.

[Gomez] Comrade Jakes, Czechoslovakia is among the 10 most industrialized nations in the world. What is your opinion of the debt problem in which underdeveloped countries find themselves in, and how can this problem be solved?

[Jakes] Above all, I want to say that Czechoslovakia is among the countries that actively help developing countries. A certain percent of our national budget is given to help these countries. However, help is also given in other ways.

It is clear that the underdeveloped countries' debt situation is unbearable. This problem must be solved. It is essential that these countries create the conditions necessary to promote their development. The enormous debt is an obstacle for these countries.

The fundamental solution is in applying a new economic order, a new economic system, which would enable the development of these countries. This would include having industry and incorporating the underdeveloped countries into the world economy. Just having raw materials and producing semiproducts [as heard] does not help them. They should be countries with strong industrial infrastructures, similar to the ones found in developed socialist and capitalist countries. We must help to create this. This is the fundamental road that must be taken so that developing countries can advance.

We must take away from them the enormous weight of the debt, because the debt takes away from them the funds from their labors.

I want to reiterate that we clearly back all the proposals made by Comrade Fidel and Comrade Gorbachev.

[Gomez] Next May, Czechoslovakia and Cuba will celebrate the 29th anniversary of having diplomatic relations. What do you think have been the principal achievements of this link?

[Jakes] For me, the most important thing has been the prosperity in cooperation and friendship between our governments, our people, and our communist parties. Throughout the 29 years, a solid and firm foundation has been created, enabling us to advance our cooperation.

Czechoslovakia aided in establishing several enterprises in Cuba, and Cuba contributed by sending us a series of food products, mainly citrus and sugar. We can also talk about the cooperation given in training by workers, teaching, science and technology, and many other areas. Now we find ourselves in a period in which we must find new forms of cooperation. We must not only co-participate or share the new joint efforts and commercial exchange; we must also look for a direct form of cooperation between Czechoslovak and Cuban enterprises.

This is the main thing for which we have created conditions and premises. We hope this strengthens our mutual ties. We highly appreciate the profound internationalism of the Cuban people. This is demonstrated in every sense because Cubans are helping everywhere. They always help the weaker, wherever they may need help. This must truly be admired very much because it cannot be valued in economic terms.

[Gomez] Comrade Jakes, you are now ending your visit to our country. During your visit you have had several contacts with our people and have met with our highest leaders. What do you think has been your visit's biggest achievement?

[Jakes] It has been a very interesting visit. I have been able to visit a series of centers and enterprises. I have also been able to speak with many workers—beginning with the centers' workers and leaders, and ending with the enterprises' workers. I would like to thank them for the wonderful feeling of friendship that was extended to me everywhere. This has been a very good demonstration for our country and our people, and it has shown me the interest there is to enhance cooperation between our countries. Thank you very much for all of this.

There are possibilities to further cooperation in the centers, enterprises, hospitals, and research centers we visited. We must develop this cooperation because it is in the interest of both nations.

I did not come here alone. Many other government and party leaders have come with me and they met with their Cuban counterparts. During those meetings, we have looked for new ways of cooperation and we have arrived at definite conclusions. We will continue to further our talks. Everything I have seen has made a good impression on me.

It is evident that, throughout the 30 years of revolution, the Cuban people have achieved much. With respect to the PCC and Comrade Fidel, it is evident they have decided in their efforts to continue strengthening socialism in Cuba and fulfilling all of the works mentioned. The inauguration of EXPOCUBA was very impressive. This construction, to exhibit Cuban products and to hold international fairs, has been done in record [preceeding word in English] time. With much interest, I attended the rally in which Comrade Fidel Castro gave his speech. In this speech, Comrade Fidel illustrated in a very plastic [as heard] way the achievements achieved by Cuba. He also stated the Cuban people's profound sense of internationalism, and his points of view on international matters. He not only received the backing of the tens of thousands of Cubans who paid close attention, but all the foreign delegations as well. This proves the great prestige Cuba has in the world. He also received our delegation's support.

Today we will meet with Comrade Fidel to speak with him and other officials, such as Comrade Rodriguez and others. They have been very productive meetings in which we have understood each other very well. With respect to international matters, our points of view are almost the same. We also share the same views toward the struggle for peace, everything that has to do with promoting mutual cooperation, trying to achieve the unity of the socialist community, and perfecting the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We have also taken an interest in how each of our countries will advance after fulfilling every demanding task that is behind schedule and which, in many cases, will need new outlooks so that they can be finished.

I want to stress that the exchange of opinions and experiences of this type is very important. This will aid us in understanding each other more and strengthening our unity. It will also help us to learn from each others' experiences so that it will be a positive influence in future developments.

Of course, every country has to deal with its own situation and advance according to it. However, we have goals in common, such as strengthening and developing socialism, creating better living conditions for the people, strengthening our position in the international sphere, and contributing to the achievement of world peace.

I truly believe our talks have contributed to everything I have mentioned and I value these talks very much.

Finally, I would like once again to take this opportunity to congratulate the Cuban people on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. I wish you well with all of your labors, and in fulfilling your tasks that are behind schedule. I wish all of you good health and my personal congratulations.

[Gomez] Thank you very much for those kind words for our people. It has been a great pleasure to have you share with the Cuban people the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution.

[Jakes] Thank you.

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[Report on speech by Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, at a regional aktiv of the North Moravian party, trade union, and economic bodies in Novy Jicin on 11 January: "Introducing the New Economic Mechanism Into Practice"]

[Text] Comrade Ladislav Adamec addressed a regional aktiv of party, economic, and trade union workers, members of councils of work collectives, and functionaries of the National Front in Novy Jicin [on 11 January]. He said among other things:

In the opening part of his speech, Ladislav Adamec expressed appreciation for the decision of the North Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee to organize this gathering to prepare a functionaries' aktiv.

The balance sheet of the past year has not yet been closed. Despite this, one can say that as for the implementation of the tasks of the 5-year plan, the North Moravian region has achieved a number of undisputed successes in both industrial and agricultural production, and in other spheres. Well-deserved thanks go to all who take credit for this. Not only justified pride in the results of work, but also a real [realne], critical assessment of the work done have always been a part of the Ostrava region's revolutionary traditions. And in this spirit I, too, want to speak about our common joys and concerns.

In entering the 4th year of the 5-year plan, we are beginning the pre-congress period. In accordance with the needs of restructuring and modernization, the preparations for the 18th congress are becoming—in the full sense of the word—an affair involving all citizens: of members of the CPCZ and the other, central, and primary components, and of work collectives and individuals. The personal contribution by all who have something to say about society's development and perspectives will be important. We perceive the preparations for the congress as being of a working nature, as everyone's concrete contribution to improving the economic situation, to stepping up political activity, and to moral revival.

In the short span of 12 months we will not be able to rectify or change everything. However, we can take an important step forward in the main directions of restructuring. Creating prerequisites for the introduction of the new economic mechanism as early as 1 January 1990 becomes the crucial component.

The central bodies face a number of responsible tasks in the weeks and months ahead. The production base, social relations, or people's thinking cannot be suitably changed without corresponding political, economic, organizational, and legal prerequisites. The decisive arena of the struggle will be the mastering of tasks on the level of the enterprise sphere, the carrying out of profound changes in the behavior and attitudes of the work collectives themselves.

We all want to enjoy the fruits of the changes carried out as soon as possible, and make the fastest possible progress in improving working and living conditions. We know where we stand and what we want. We reckon with difficulties. Our sober optimism proceeds from the awareness of real possibilities. However, the determined objectives can only be mastered by concrete management work, a high degree of awareness, and mass activity. Much will depend on the effective coordination of all enterprise components—starting with the directors and ending with foremen and rank-and-file workers [pracovnici], starting with chairmen of party and trade union organizations and councils of work collectives, and ending with individual Communists and trade unionists, workers, technicians, and management staffers.

On what can we rely, on what aktivs do we want to build? Above all else, on the understandable wish of the majority of the working people to have ever better working and living conditions. Workers rightly expect from us that there will be enough raw and other materials for systematic work, so that they will be able to earn enough for their honest work and, with the money earned, to buy all that they need. They rightly link these demands with their ideas about restructuring.

Thus far, the content of this term is not quite clear to everyone. However, the majority realize where lagging behind would lead. They feel that we must come to grips with the demands of the times and not lose contact with world developments. People are not indifferent to the fact that for many years they have been grappling with repetitive shortcomings. They are convinced that they could do better, were it not for so many, often unnecessary, obstacles. Some of the people are marking time. Some—be it out of habit or indolence—would like the changes to occur without their own contribution, without a greater effort, and sometimes even without temporary sacrifices.

Balancing Imbalance in Economy

Both the federal Government's programmatic statement and the report at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session revealed, Ladislav Adamec said further, what a

serious obstacle the imbalance in the economy is to the restructuring of the economic mechanism. It has many forms, but its common denominator is, in particular, the shortage of raw materials, capacities, and foreign currency in many enterprises. The shelves in shops reflect the imbalance between the population's monetary incomes and the volume of goods.

There are more causes for this state of affairs. The reasons for the unbalanced state of our national economy are, above all, the deep-rooted way of fulfilling the plan at any price, regardless of costs, the real needs of the market, the specific demands of users and customers. The production of useless goods for shelves. The tying up of valuable things in poor-quality, technically obsolete, and at the same time overly expensive and unprofitable products. In this category belong the undesirable extent of unfinished projects, which—in the first three quarters of last year—increased by 4 percent and reached Kcs172 billion. The blame for this also lies with the insolvency of enterprises amounting to Kcs45 billion. The unplanned growth of wages also contributes to this. One of the causes lies in the disproportionately high credits in foreign trade.

This state of affairs has not come into being all of a sudden, but rather has continued to worsen in the course of the past 5-year plans. Are we impotent to do anything about this? Are there any solutions at all? We often hear such and similar questions. Sometimes they are even voiced with a certain mistrust of the future. In the interest of halting this imbalance—which costs us considerable resources—we must embark upon an uncompromising course leading to extremely thrifty economics.

There is only one way out of the blind alley of the command economy of directive-administrative management—the road of intensification, independence, self-financing, self-management, and a more active utilization of fiscal instruments [hodnotove nastroje]. Every koruna spent by society for the construction of new capacities, wages, and credits must be covered by goods in the right place at the right time, with the right choice and structure. Goods that cannot be sold must not be manufactured. Higher production must be ensured through rationalization and new technologies, and not by a larger number of employees and by increasing overtime.

We see the key component for gradually restoring the economic balance in a fundamentally changed situation in capital construction. At the end of last December, the government discussed the results of the inspection carried out by the government's special ad-hoc commission for projects under construction and projects that are to be started. It showed that two-thirds of them have various problems, and that at least one-third will go into operation belatedly. We will return to issues connected with capital construction in the middle of this year. We cannot continue tolerating the construction of capacities for which there is not enough manpower for a more than

just a single shift operation, where the major part of costs is spent on building work, where there is a lack of reliably ensured sales, and where production is not in harmony with the planned concept of structural changes.

From the aforementioned facts one should not think that we want to curb investment at any price. On the contrary, when enterprises come forward with a well-worked-out concept for enriching the domestic and foreign market with products that are in great demand and with a guaranteed quick return on invested capital, then nothing stands in the way of realizing such projects. In general, it is necessary to overcome the habit of building enterprises that are as big as possible, expanding production capacities at any price, producing ever more, and using quantitative growth in order to resolve all problems.

One must not look at the orientation of capital construction only from the viewpoint of immediate needs for certain products or immediate profit, but rather from the viewpoint of a long-term, effective structure of the national economy. It is no secret that the structure of our production-technical base does not correspond to the raw material and energy resources, to the qualifications of the population, or to the needs of our country. There are quite a few studies as well as adopted resolutions on these issues. However, the courage to take concrete steps has always been lacking. But without it we will not get ahead, not even with the most perfect economic mechanism. The federal government has drawn a conclusion from these lessons pertaining to the need to implement fundamental structural changes in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. However, not everything is the affair of the center. Many things can be realized at the enterprise level.

Importance of Quality Wage Policy

Together with a radical rectification of the situation concerning capital construction, we also want to put in order the entire sphere of wage policy. Without this we will not be able to enhance material and moral incentives, increase the working people's interest in scientific-technical progress, and create more effective stimuli for creative and conscientious work.

The principle comes to the fore that the growth of earnings for work done must correspond to the growth in labor productivity, that wages can only be paid for actually accomplished, quality work. This does not at all mean that we want to solve the problems of our economy to the detriment of the standard of living. On the contrary, we proceed in the interest of strengthening social amenities. In this sensitive sector there are certain concerns, and we do not underestimate them.

We also study, among other things, the best way to ensure an adequate quantity of inexpensive and, at the same time, quality goods for the youngest generation and pensioners—for example, by means of special state programs.

We consider it correct to strengthen the work collectives' interest in the growth of enterprises' incomes, making remuneration dependent on rising profits. Therefore, the remuneration fund will be boosted and the proportion of basic wages reduced. This year the above-tariff component of wages should increase up to 7 percent, and in 1990 up to 10 percent of the overall volume of wages. The road of the ever-increasing dependence of remuneration on the final results of the work of production organizations corresponds to the needs of enterprises and the state. Bonuses, remuneration, and profit sharing cannot be perceived as an established part of wages, but rather as an instrument for recognizing proven merits and better results. Until now, high-performance employees frequently have been working for average and mediocre performers. Such a system stimulates neither the first nor the second type. We cannot continue this economically harmful, socially unjust, and immoral practice.

In the coming months, the government will carry out an analysis of the wage policy. We are preparing measures aimed at strengthening the merit principle and simplifying the existing, overcomplicated manner of calculating wages. In the interest of both strengthening our economy and the social amenities of the working class, we will begin to adjust wage resources by means of regulatory and sanction levies. By this, we do not want to unnecessarily restrict the powers of state enterprises. However, before the economic mechanism begins to function fully, we will not be able to avoid temporary extraordinary measures.

We are a country, Ladislav Adamec continued, which—because of the great number of employed people—holds one of the front places. However, not by a long shot can this be said about the effectiveness of the utilization of the educational and qualification potential of our human resources. In connection with the structural changes in the production-technical base, the issue of the expedient use of the labor force is becoming a particularly sensitive problem. The conjuring formula “we have no manpower,” which has been used for several decades, shows how many objective and subjective difficulties are hidden here—not only in the national economy, but in our entire society. We can no longer afford the luxury of having an abundance of employees, in certain disciplines and at certain workplaces, and in others a shortage. This is even more the case because the tertiary sphere is fast becoming an increasingly important prerequisite for enhancing the general cultural standard, work performance, and social activity of the population.

What are the causes of this abnormal situation? It has come into being as a result of the administrative approach to planning the number of employees. Problems such as uneven production, irregular material deliveries, frequent breakdowns and inadequate reliability of machinery, and the poor qualifications of some people are often criticized. Can they continue to be resolved by expanding systematization, by wasting human labor? We can convince ourselves of the extent of this untapped potential when comparing the number of people working

in comparable enterprises in our country and elsewhere. When we succeed in improving manpower allocation, there will also be more respect for the work of a worker, for the effort of each employee.

We have no intention of starting to reduce useless workplaces by means of administrative measures, from the top. We proceed from the fact that enterprises themselves know best how many people they need in what places, what can be resolved with more rational organization, and what can be solved with new technology or by simplifying administrative work within the enterprise.

Waste Cannot Be Tolerated

Sometimes there is concern that the influence of the new economic conditions will be too harsh, that it could imperil some socialist principles. Using social resources to pay for someone's wastefulness, for incorrect decisions by certain individuals, substandard work, poor management, and low work discipline has long been regarded as matter of course. But is that really a socialist achievement, or is it a distortion? Until now, losses caused by specific people in leading or ranking functions have been paid for from the resources of society or prospering enterprises. Is such a procedure just and social, or not?

For years we have been criticizing egalitarianism connected with the low level of demandingness in management work, with the cult of mediocrity, and with the atmosphere of unhealthy complacency with the results achieved. We have become used to seeing the advantages of the socialist economy in the fact that that it is possible to avoid economic pressure by adjusting the plan, not taking account of quality, making up for errors in management work by overtime, or with the help of the pledge movement. At the same time, it is known that such approaches are often the subject of criticism, appeals, and promises. Despite this, the effect of all these well-intentioned measures is negligible, for the efforts often fail to achieve their intended effect. If we were to continue to protect enterprises against international competition, we would be paying for their losses, depositing resources into their wage funds, and everything would remain the way it was.

There is no doubt about one thing: as many employees as possible should work according to norms and be assessed according to their concrete contribution to an enterprise's performance. Until now the number of administrative staff [rezijni zamestnanci] has been reduced only in isolated cases, although even this is one of the causes of disproportionately high wage costs. The planned new legal adjustment of the manner and forms of stimulation when creating socially necessary job opportunities will contribute to changing this situation. We will address the

problem of employees released from work, their retraining, and their material security when it comes to structural changes and rationalization measures, including the provision of material security prior to their finding a new job.

However, regulations alone—no matter how perfect—will not solve matters. At the joint meeting of the federal government and the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council, we agreed on a joint course concerning the resolution of these issues. Such cooperation is also necessary—with differing rights, powers, and obligations being consistently respected—at the enterprise level.

Independent decisions made by state enterprises and the greater economic pressure for efficiency will also be demonstrated in handling resources for social programs. Here, too, it is true that the greater independence will have to be connected with more consistent control of the manner in which enterprises' funds are being created and used, with a rendering of accounts not only to superior bodies, but also to the work collective.

A correct comprehension of the principle of the unity between the economic and the social policy arises from the very attitude toward the status of economic organizations. One cannot narrow down the role of the state enterprises only to an economic, production, and trade function, and reduce their responsibility for the social and cultural development of work collectives as citizens and inhabitants of towns and villages, including their living standard.

For quite some time we have been seeking ways to create better conditions for meeting the needs of work and citizens' collectives, how to provide firmer economic foundations for cooperation between enterprise and national committees. National committees will be receiving a considerable part of the income tax proceeds from economic organizations. This is a step toward increasing their financial self-sufficiency and toward the national committees' greater interest in developing entrepreneurship. These relations cannot be seen as unilateral, as solely the provision of financial resources, but rather as a joint responsibility for a good working and living environment. We proceed from this when preparing the new 5-year plan, which will be based on a closer interconnection of the interests of ministerial departments and regions.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about the restructuring of wholesale and purchase prices. Even though the new prices are effective this January 1, we are only beginning as far as making them objective. On the basis of the assessment of the results of price restructuring in the first half of this year, if necessary, we will carry out a partial adjustment of wholesale prices in the transportation and communications sectors, and change prices in the construction sector. We will change over to a regular updating of prices, which will be directed and controlled by the state in a planned manner. We are

preparing the schedule. We put great emphasis on the observance of contractual prices, but under strict supervision, especially from the viewpoint of their contribution to users.

Control of Retail Price Development

Control of the retail price development will be at the center of our attention. We do not project in it the impact arising from the restructuring of wholesale prices. The state will continue to subsidize the retail prices of those products, work, and services for which subsidies fulfill a social task and serve to strengthen the population's amenities. That, however, must not conceal and sustain uneconomic management, losses, waste, and foster socially unsubstantiated equality.

We want to put the price policy under public control. Unnecessary secrecy surrounding the preparation of price changes, which are occurring everywhere in the world, fosters an unnecessary mistrust in official standpoints. This is an abnormal state of affairs and one which leads to hoarding, as a result of incorrectly identifying changes in wholesale and procurement prices with retail prices. For the population this means losses caused by ill-advised spending. For example, those who bought any kind of furniture last year have convinced themselves of this. But the entire society also pays dearly for panicky shopping sprees. As a result, one has to mobilize production capacities, ensure unscheduled deliveries of goods, and unplanned imports.

It is also necessary to bring the entire domestic market under public control. This means not only deliveries from our production facilities and consumer satisfaction with their quality, but also imports of consumer goods. The latter should, above all, serve to enrich the domestic market and exert pressure on our manufacturers to produce good-quality items inexpensively.

This year—next to one another and against one another—the elements of two management systems are in operation at the same time, Ladislav Adamec noted further. We agree with the opinion that this disunity makes management difficult, leads to various misunderstandings, and sometimes even weakens faith in the correctness of our plans. After having weighed all positive and negative factors, we have decided to shorten the transition period.

In this respect, enterprises have something to lean on. In addition to the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism, this is provided, above all, by the law on state enterprises and the law on production, consumers, and housing cooperatives. The agriculture and food branches, trade, public catering, services, and other branches have already been transferred to the new management conditions. New wholesale and procurement prices, the adjustment of foreign exchange rates, of levies and taxes, the amended Labor Code, the law on enterprises with foreign capital participation, and other legal

norms went into effect on 1 January. This provides a firm base—although not in all matters—for the introduction of the new economic mechanism, and broad scope for entrepreneurial activity. It will be necessary to become thoroughly acquainted with all these fundamental steps and to begin to implement the new principles creatively.

We are aware that not all things have been completely resolved—for example, in the sphere of foreign trade. In enterprises various contradictions arise and will arise between the needs and potential of the new economic mechanism, and the outdated regulations. What can be done in this respect? In no case must this serve as an excuse for a passive attitude toward ensuring the planned tasks, to enhancing the performance and efficiency of production and services aimed at better meeting the needs of society and citizens.

Here and there we come across the view that some kind of special, extraordinary conditions have to be created for self-financing. This is being substantiated on the basis of a one-sided comparison with the present state of affairs. One even speaks about resources which the changed rules will allegedly withhold from an enterprise. Thus, a new form of scheming begins to crop up—formerly it used to be the haggling over individual indicators of the plan, today it is the obtaining of subsidies and exemptions.

We often hear criticism that a lot is spoken and written about restructuring the economic mechanism but, so far, people in workshops, operations, centers, and plants either do not feel this in their work at all, or only very little. True, most changes can be seen in the elections of directors and in the socialist self-management of work collectives, and in the movement of cadres of former general directorates. However, the mechanism of the enterprise and, especially, the intraenterprise management remains practically unchanged.

At the same time, however, one has to say that, without restructuring, the entire system of intraenterprise management in preproduction, production, and commercial activity, the process of restructuring the economic mechanism is practically unfeasible. Today the choice of the system of management within the enterprise lies fully within the powers of the enterprises themselves. There is no need to wait for any further instructions, but—without delay and without excuses—one has to search, investigate, and learn from others, and introduce economic accountability in its fullest possible form, right down to workshops and individuals.

Creating the Necessary Base for Oneself

It is necessary to realistically come to terms with the fact that the new mechanism will not only not make tasks easier, but, on the contrary, will reveal the real state of

management in the proper light. The better the enterprises cope with the fulfillment of the 1989 plan, the better the starting base they will have for implementing the new mechanism as of 1 January 1990.

It is correct for the CPCZ Regional Committee to pay such attention to the issues of economic management and the implementation of economic accountability. I do not want to speak about it in detail today, because the CPCZ Central Committee is preparing statewide action on this.

Each enterprise must find its own place, not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in the international division of labor, in production, and in trade. This means reacting flexibly to changes in demand and supply on both the domestic and world markets. One cannot, as in the old days, rely on allocations from the center, but must ensure one's own deliveries of the necessary raw and other materials—also from foreign partners—through cooperation and other forms.

I have already stressed that, in many respects, good preparation of the economic mechanism will decide the success of the year 1990, which will be the general rehearsal for entry into the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The demands by enterprises to obtain as much information and as many guarantees as possible under the new economic conditions are understandable and justified. In the interest of the entire national economy, we strive for most stable rules. On the other hand, however, we must take into consideration the dynamism of the changes in our country and in the world. Flexibility is necessary and is in the interest of the state and the enterprises themselves. The new prices, the presumed extent of the tax burden, the nature of the normative rules and regulations for the creation and use of enterprise funds are already known. One thing, however, is fundamental. One cannot forever count on any form of assistance and exemption to cover up an enterprise's poor performance.

True, not all enterprises enter the more demanding period with the same prerequisites. We know that some have modern, others obsolete production assets. The extent of the wear and tear on production assets of the centrally managed economic organizations in our republic is 46.3 percent—in metallurgy and heavy engineering works, 50 percent; in fuels and power engineering, 41 percent; in the industry of the Czech SR, 52.6 percent, and in that of the Slovak SR 44 percent. At the same time, from the viewpoint of individual enterprises, the starting base in entrepreneurial activity—as a result of write-offs of production assets—varies greatly. All this attests to the fact that for years we have been living to the detriment of the future, that further development—including modernization—cannot be carried out across the board, but selectively. We do not underestimate these differences and strive for the most just solution possible. This, however, is not a task of a single year, or an affair of the central bodies' decision alone. Much will

depend on the entrepreneurial spirit of the work collectives themselves and their representatives. They cannot rely on having someone else solve their problems.

We know that the certain dislike of and the mistrust in exposing internal untapped potential and introducing new methods of management also arise from the fact that many superior bodies are still being managed the old way. We frequently come across instances when individual staffers, and even entire ministerial departments, invent new indicators, and transform guidelines that are intended to be orientation into obligatory ones. Instead of providing qualified services, well-founded recommendations, and prompt information, they implement their ideas by issuing orders and directives.

Climate of Economic Security and Guarantees

The government's intention is to create a good base of management rules, and a climate of economic security and guarantees for enterprises. Even though the Federal Assembly will only be discussing some of the laws at the end of this year, we wish to make available to the enterprise sphere at least the drafts that have been assessed or endorsed by the government. We are trying to see that the enterprises are acquainted as early as the beginning of the second half-year with the basic outlines of the main tasks of the 1990 plan, as well as with the economic conditions for their realization.

The 1 year of experience with the introduction of the individual elements of the new economic mechanism increasingly convinces us of the importance of the subjective factor, the role of people's interests, attitudes, and their way of thinking. Scientifically organized production is not simply a question of effective economic instruments, but also a question of a civilized standard of work and the entire life of work collectives. The working morale and the overall performance depend in many respects on the political and moral atmosphere.

One often talks about what is required for the restructuring of personality, what the social nature and type of this restructuring should be like. The extensive type of production and administrative methods of management used to stress observance of orders from above, initiative in the form of willingness to eliminate shortfalls and the constant race to fulfill the plan. Accurate, unhurried, and balanced values, and organizationally well-prepared work, care, and self-discipline were frequently regarded as something outdated. A lack of entrepreneurship, insufficient competitiveness, working relations based on low demands, and the ascribing of failures to unfavorable circumstances have gradually become a habit. The development of modern production technology and the organization of work require substantially new personality attributes. Professionalism, care, concentration, awareness of personal responsibility, a high standard of interhuman relations, the art of conducting fruitful discussions, and democratic conduct are coming to the fore.

The greater the powers state enterprises obtain, the more important the quality of their directors is. The first experience of their elections shows the need to correctly understand the status and the tasks of ranking personnel under the new management conditions. I have no intention of supplying any universal prescription for an ideal director. After all, absolutely perfect personalities exist only on paper; in real life things are different. Not so long ago I read an interesting and, I think, a very telling thought. Allegedly, there are no poor workers, only poor foremen, who can only work for a poor director, and a poor director can exist only in a poorly run enterprise. Is this the case or not? I do not want to foist my opinion upon anyone, but this is a good observation.

The revolutionary nature of the present lies not only in radical criticism of the bold setting of high goals that have gone wrong. It also lies in a strict, merciless test of strength of our knowledge, character, and will. The test of events and will reveals one's potential and what one is capable of accomplishing. It reveals whether one has the potential to grow or, on the other hand, whether or not one is capable of stepping over one's shadow, whether one loses one's head and is a disappointment. The government can neither promise nor guarantee economic personnel everything. I say this openly and in all awareness of responsibility. A different assertion would be neither honest nor sincere. Despite this, I want to assure all captains of industry and agriculture: We will give political, economic, and moral support to all those who in the interest of society, our economy, the prospects of enterprise, and its work collective, are able and willing to take risks, assert the new, modernize production and management, and cope with the competition from the most advanced companies. I am convinced that such assurance will give to truly mature and professionally capable people the green light for creative quest, entrepreneurship, and the taking of risks. To those who have become too accustomed to carefully marking their time, only relying on instructions of superior bodies and going around the bureaus of the Prague authorities, such assurance will not help.

The job of director of a socialist enterprise is not for indolent, cautious, and self-complacent people; neither is it a cushy job, nor a bestowed privilege, nor a reward. No one is born into this function; one has to grow into it, deserve it by having genuine abilities and knowledge, and by nothing else. We have decided to employ the democratic method of having representatives of a work collective elect its their directors. The first experience shows that this procedure enhances demandingness on the selection of people, on their ability to assert themselves through their personal qualities and to gain respect and authority through the results of their own work. This method places considerable demands on the general standard of political work and the management of the founders [that is, of ministries or national committees] themselves.

Trust of Fellow Workers Has To Be Worked For

A part of the ranking personnel has gotten too used to their nomination and approval for functions taking place in a narrow circle of functionaries. They have learned to rely on being the sole candidates. Some of them have begun considering themselves irreplaceable; they have become unused to taking into account the opinions of the party and work collective. This is also demonstrated by their unwillingness to compete with other nominees, to win support for their candidacy on the basis of their own program for the development of the enterprise. One has to say openly that people who are afraid of clashes, who have no faith in themselves, who doubt their fellow workers trusting their abilities, or are not prepared to push through their concepts, cannot pass muster in the present conditions, not only vis-a-vis the superior bodies, but even more so vis-a-vis the work collectives entrusted to them. Only one of the candidates can win the post of director. That, however, does not mean that the others have lost their honor and qualifications. Therefore, it is necessary to give every nominee the guarantee of a suitable job beforehand.

I would like to take a stand on yet another issue. Many ranking personnel ponder how to carry out restructuring in their enterprise in the best and fastest possible way. However, they frequently forget that the standard of an enterprise's management can be enhanced neither through administrative methods alone, nor through purely economic management methods. In order to achieve real progress one has to democratize the entire life of an enterprise's work collective. What does this mean? Providing more extensive and more profound information on the economic situation, visiting people more often, relying on them more, and consulting them more frequently. Having workers comprehend and accept restructuring has to be considered the most important thing. Of course, that does not mean underestimating the work with technicians, designers, and other staff in preproduction stages.

I remember a meeting with one director. We discussed modern forms of management, computers, and new organizational techniques. I asked what he finds on his desk when he comes to work in the morning. You know, he told me, before I get to that desk I go around to one or two workshops, because without direct, personal contact with people, without knowing their opinions, even the best technology would not help me. May this become the rule.

All I said here which applies to directors of state enterprises naturally also applies to representatives of other enterprise bodies—chairmen of the party organizations, committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH), social organizations, and councils of work collectives.

As the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session revealed, the speed of restructuring, the consistency with which it is being carried out, and the achieved results depend in many respects on the restructuring of the party itself.

It is no coincidence that the implementation of the party's leading role is being discussed so much nowadays. There is no doubt that the greater and the more massive the influence of the vanguard is, the faster the whole society can advance. However, this requires one thing: not only identifying oneself with the right to lead and invoking this right, but systematically producing evidence of the ability and justification of political leadership through practical results of every party collective and all Communists. Are there already enough prerequisites, enough preparedness, and enough enthusiasm for this everywhere? Do they not in many places live on past successes, old traditions? Is there enough courage everywhere to take a look at the hard reality without embellishment and illusions?

Attractive and Intelligible Program Is Guaranteed

In order that the party becomes a recognized political force at every workplace, it also needs, as well as the authority of its members and functionaries, an attractive and intelligible program of activity. Communists should be at the head of the formulation of state enterprises' development programs. They should gather together the best people of work collectives to draw them up, to see to their quality and correct orientation, and to unify production and social viewpoints. One has to pay far greater attention to resolving the problems of young people, beginning with seeing that their qualifications are being used properly and promoting them to management posts, and ending with creating conditions for their systematic professional self-improvement, for their political and cultural growth. In this respect we still have much to do in terms of substantially enhancing the role of youth organizations in the life of enterprises.

We must put particularly great emphasis on changing the style of work, especially as regards implementing the party's influence in enterprises' operations. The long-standing habits of substitution and duplication have not contributed to the growth of the party bodies' informal authority among the rank-and-file party members or people without party affiliation. The inertia of the existing practices will not disappear by itself, but only on the basis of a critical and self-critical look at the methods of work up to this point. Adopting the standpoints of ranking personnel rather than being political leaders had been more comfortable and easier for both sides. However, a party organization cannot lead as long as instead of carrying out political work with people, it devotes itself to matters for which pertinent staffers are paid and responsible.

It is no secret that in issues pertaining to the approach to restructuring, not everything is clear, that differing views exist. This, by itself, is nothing unusual, nothing strange.

However, it would be a mistake if we were to only note this state of affairs, and not be able to unite the collective of Communists on common tasks. With unconvinced or uncomprehending party members we can hardly push through new things and win over others to them. Therefore, it will be necessary—together with politically ensuring the tasks of the plan and the transition to a new organization—to devote systematic care to ideological work. Let us admit to ourselves: The directive manner of management, and sometimes party bodies exerting "pressure" and issuing orders by telephone, have made party functionaries unaccustomed to talking with people, patiently explaining unclear matters to them every day, and winning them over to the implementing tasks. Let us set ourselves the following objective: making the agenda of our meetings so attractive that people would attend them gladly, with interest.

I am glad that at this aktiv I can also speak directly to the chairmen of enterprise and plant committees of the ROH. The policy of restructuring and democratization cannot be successfully carried out without the trade unions. Last month, at the joint meeting of the federal government and the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council, we discussed a series of issues connected with the realization of the conclusions of the statewide all-trade union conference. Through that we have embarked upon the course of a regular, concrete, and practical cooperation with ROH representatives, this numerically strongest social organization of the National Front, without which not even state functions can be successfully fulfilled.

Discussions are being held and contacts are being established between trade union bodies and the bodies of socialist self-management of work collectives in state enterprises subordinated to various ministries. Sometimes there are even calls for detailed regulations and precise procedures. Such demands sometimes arise from the noncomprehension of the principles contained in the law on state enterprises. These principles must be explained in detail, and one must not rely on everyone having read them. However, let us not wish to shackle everything with directives from the very beginning. By doing this we would not only do a disservice to good things, but, on the contrary, we would bureaucratize them and make them formalistic.

It will be no harm when diverse approaches to cooperation between trade unions and the councils of work collectives are tried out and verified in the North Moravian region and elsewhere. Life will show what has a future and what does not, in what respect it is more expedient to take this or that path.

I spoke here mostly about the national-economic, political, and social contexts of the restructuring of the production sphere. I did not address technical, branch,

and structural problems. Present here with me are members of the government, who will speak about issues that have been cropping up in your region, about which I did not speak in detail, and they will answer possible questions.

In the CPCZ's difficult trials and struggles for socialism, the workers class and the working people of the Ostrava region always played an honorable role. They helped to build up our heavy industry, to industrialize Slovakia, and they also have credit in the industrial development of the fraternal socialist countries.

At present, too, the Ostrava region faces no less demanding tasks. Our heavy industry, our mines, metallurgy works, and power plants must more flexibly adapt to the changes that have occurred in the world in technologies, in productivity, and in the dynamism of innovative processes. The whole world is reducing the share of production consumption that is needed to produce a unit of national income. The Ostrava region, too—with the help of the entire republic—must be resolving this problem now.

The fuel, power engineering, metallurgical, steel, and engineering complexes by themselves are our economy's wealth. That, however, is not enough, and it should not elicit the feeling of complacency in any one of us. On the contrary, this should lead to a stepped up effort to minimize inputs and to increase efficiency to the level of developed countries. Heavy industry must be a contribution to, not a burden on the economy. For a long time now the Ostrava region has been facing the problem pertaining to the qualitative change of its production base, including the transfer of some of its capacities into a contingency reserve. This will be in the interest of more effectively forestalling serious ecological problems. I am convinced that you will also cope successfully with these matters.

Permit me to wish you much success on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and on the personal behalf of Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary.

Johanes Addresses Diplomats on Foreign Policy
LD1301234489 Prague CTK in English
2009 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia views Soviet proposals and initiatives as a realistic and matter-of-fact program of deepening the processes of the further improvement of the international life, fully supports them and will actively participate in their implementation, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes stated here today.

Speaking to members of the Prague diplomatic corps on the occasion of the new year, the minister pointed out that the development of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue has favourably affected the overall international situation—

the process of real nuclear disarmament has started and significant progress has been reached in the search for solutions to regional conflicts. The tension in the world has been eased, Jaromir Johanes stressed.

At the same time he pointed out that the present reality also contains considerable problems which can be overcome only by joint effort, deepening detente, strengthening confidence and development of the widest possible international cooperation. Czechoslovakia and its foreign policy will, together with its allies, consistently strive for these aims in 1989, the minister said.

In another part of his speech Jaromir Johanes underlined the necessity to extend talks on all aspects of disarmament and recalled the priorities laid down by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee at its session in Warsaw last July—50-per cent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear weapons, complete and general ban on nuclear tests, signing of a treaty on a world-wide ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons, and conventional disarmament in Europe.

As regards Europe, Czechoslovakia sees far-reaching perspectives in gradual realization of the idea of a common European home. Czechoslovakia is convinced that a successful completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting will create favourable conditions for the shift of all spheres of all-European cooperation to a qualitatively higher level, Jaromir Johanes said and characterized a speedy opening of talks on conventional armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals as a task of special significance.

The minister said that Czechoslovakia's significant contribution to the development of the all-European process is its initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It will be further developed in the practical direction, the further action will be discussed with all countries involved, Jaromir Johanes said and pointed out also the suggestion submitted by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec for a meeting in Prague of the premiers of all countries neighbouring Czechoslovakia to discuss the possibilities of cooperation in the environmental protection.

The minister further underlined the necessity of increasing role of the United Nations and said that Czechoslovakia's foreign political activity will be aimed at all-round development of mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries.

Czechoslovakia is ready to further develop political dialogue with official representatives but also to extend contacts between people and social organizations and develop cultural exchange. It seeks more effective participation in the international division of labour and intends to seek more intensively than before the possibilities of joint venture, link-up between production and trade, cooperation on third markets.

Evaluating bilateral relations Jaromir Johanes said that decisive for Czechoslovakia remains to be strengthening of close alliance, traditional friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. It also envisages enrichment of cooperation with the developing countries and wants to seek new ways to strengthen its traditionally friendly contacts with this part of the world.

Czechoslovakia will also strive to extend mutually advantageous contacts with Western partners. It is interested in making these relations perspective [as received] and long-term, and considers very important the development of contacts with the European Economic Community, Jaromir Johanes said.

Fojtik Meets With MZSMP's Janos Berecz
*AU1901084789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Jan 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Exchange of Experience in Ideological Work"]

[Text] Bratislava—Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, met Janos Berecz, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, who is currently visiting the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, in Bratislava on Saturday [14 January].

During their cordial, comradely talk, the two representatives briefed each other on the progress achieved in implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPCZ Central Committee session, and of the MSZMP's national conference. They acquainted each other with the main tasks of the two fraternal parties in the present period, during the transformation of the economic mechanisms, and in the development of socialist democracy and the political system. They devoted particular attention to exchanging experience concerning the ideological work of the CPCZ and MSZMP. They also appraised the level of CPCZ-MSZMP relations and assessed ideas for their further development, especially in the ideological sphere, so that this would help to bring the two countries closer together. The two representatives stated that an important role is played in this process by the nationalities living in both countries. They will continue to devote attention to these issues.

The deliberations were attended by Gejza Slapka, CPSL Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary. Miklos Barity, Hungarian ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

On Sunday [15 January] the Hungarian guest inspected the permanent exhibition of graphic arts and visited the Hungarian Regional Theater and the Jokai Museum in Komarno. In the afternoon of the same day he departed for home.

Comparison of Jakes Constitutional Goals Speech

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 January on page 3 carries under the headline "Enshrining the Principles of Restructuring in Law" the speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front [NF], delivered at the first session of the joint CPCZ and NF commission for preparing the new CSSR constitution, in Prague on 10 January. The RUDE PRAVO report has been compared with the Prague Domestic Service Czech version published in the 11 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 16, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph two, sentence eleven reads in RUDE PRAVO: ...need to master new demands posed by the revolutionary nature of the present time, as well as... (rephrasing)

Column two, paragraph two, sentence two reads: ...must aim at deepening socialist democracy as the basic direction of development for Czechoslovak statehood. It will also... (rephrasing)

Paragraph three, sentence one reads: ...socialism as the social system of our... (substituting "social" for "political")

Paragraph four, last sentence reads: ...constitution everything that has proven itself worthwhile in our constitutional development up to this point, and eliminate everything... (rephrasing)

Page 17, column one, paragraph two, only sentence reads: ...elections for the Legislative Nation Assembly in... (adding "Legislative")

Column two, paragraph two, sentences two through three read: ...have been reduced. By drafting and adopting a new constitution... (adding "and adopting")

Paragraph three, sentence two reads: ...for constitutional continuity, for the utilization of... (rephrasing)

Same sentence reads: ...the future, too, then from the point of the new constitution this will be the... (rephrasing)

Page 18, column one, paragraph three, penultimate through last sentences read: ...room for interests—or means for achieving them—which are at variance with socialism. For this... (rephrasing)

Page 19, column one, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...the conditions for his self-realization. [new paragraph]

The socialist conception... (rephrasing)

Column two, paragraph two, last sentence through paragraph three, sentence one reads: ...for its implementation. [new paragraph]

We can link ourselves to the existing constitutional form of the fundamental rights, freedoms, and duties, and—from the viewpoint of the current conditions and needs—we can deepen and develop them further. At the same time, the guarantees of... (rephrasing)

Page 20, column two, paragraph five, antepenultimate sentence reads: ...to strengthen their control activities vis-a-vis governments, ministries, and... (rephrasing)

Page 21, column two, paragraph two, sentences one through three read: ...the people's self-administration. The principles of the activity of the representative corps, which I have already mentioned, are valid for their position, too. Much has been... (rephrasing)

Paragraph three, penultimate through last sentences read: ...towns and villages. Stereotypes in thinking endure, as well as a deeply entrenched administrative approach and routine when it comes to satisfying the people's... (rephrasing)

Page 23, column one, paragraph two, sentences two through three read: ...and we will not be able to avoid searching. In this respect... (rephrasing)

Leipzig Paper Reports on Arrest of Demonstrators
AU1801124689 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network
in German 1000 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] In the GDR, the press has for the first time reported on the arrest of civil rights activists in Leipzig last weekend [14-15 January]. Referring to police information, the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG reported that on Sunday a group of people tried to disturb order and security in the inner city. The paper speaks of a rally which abused the commemoration of the workers' leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The responsible organs prevented this provocation. In the process, 53 people were arrested, cautioned after the facts had been checked, and released again, the paper says.

Western correspondents, on the other hand, reported a total of 190 arrests. Yesterday, at least eight of those arrested had reportedly not been released.

Honecker Toast at Dinner for Diplomatic Corps
AU1701122489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 1

[Toast by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a dinner for the Diplomatic Corps in Erfurt on 13 January: "Erich Honecker's Toast at the Hunt Dinner"]

[Text] Mr Doyen,

Ambassadors and charges d'affaires,

Dear comrades and friends:

On the evening of this eventful and certainly restful day, I am pleased to welcome you here again. I cordially congratulate on their success all those who have been lucky in the hunt. As I have heard, those of us who have visited Erfurt and its surroundings have also returned with interesting impressions. At the same time, I want to thank all those who have contributed to the success of our meeting.

In Erfurt, in Thuringen, we are in a region of our country that not only has a beautiful landscape but is also full of vibrant life and traditions. Intellectual currents and historical events that have decisively influenced the German people's culture and history have originated here. They are connected with such names as Martin Luther, Thomas Muentzer, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich Schiller. Here in 1891, the Social Democratic Party of Germany passed its Erfurt Program, which was of great importance to the workers movement. Many an important thing would have to be added.

Today, modern production facilities that represent a high scientific-technological standard are located in this bezirk. One of the centers is the Erfurt Microelectronics

Combine, which is rapidly developing. The International Horticultural Show has become a hallmark. Every year, Erfurt Bezirk is a center of attraction for many guests from our country and from abroad.

We can state with justification that in the 4 decades of the GDR's existence, the life of the people has also thoroughly changed here. Our people's pride in their achievements is certainly all the more understandable if one considers the ruins, intellectual, as well as material ruins, that were left behind in our country by the Hitlerite regime at the end of World War II. Since the antifascist-democratic new beginning, we have taken a course in building socialism by joint work that has led the GDR to an equal and esteemed place in the international arena among the world's most productive industrial nations.

Goethe's vision of Faust, that is, standing with free people on free soil, is fulfilled in the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil, and this means at the same time that the people are able to fully develop their creative powers and abilities for their own benefit in the GDR. In our country, the implemented right to work, full employment, a highly developed educational system, free health care, and comprehensive recreational facilities, to mention only a few things, are facts of life, just as is the citizens' active involvement in deciding social affairs and implementing them. Here it makes no difference whether somebody acts as a convinced Marxist-Leninist or professes a religion, whether he is very young or his youth is behind him, or which social position he occupies.

With all this, I have actually said much about the reason why peace, this most precious asset of mankind, is so important to us and why it ranks first in our policy. Only if it is reliably protected, will the peoples be able to do their daily work without being disturbed, progress will be made, and it will be possible to solve the global problems that currently exist. Peace, disarmament, detente, and cooperation—these are interests for the implementation of which we should jointly work, irrespective of all other differences.

Ladies and gentlemen, by wishing you once again success in your important work as mediators between states, I hope that you will have pleasant memories of the Erfurt meetings and talks.

Come and raise your glasses with me and drink to the strengthening of peace, the fruitful development of relations between our states, and to your health.

Axen Receives DPRK Foreign Minister

LD1901051989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1859 GMT 18 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and the DPRK will contribute in the future to the improvement in the

international situation with their own constructive initiatives. Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee Kim Yong-nam DPRK foreign minister, agreed on this during a talk on Wednesday in Berlin.

The partners in the talks noted that a change for the better is beginning to be registered in international relations. At the same time, the opponents of detente and disarmament are attempting to block this development and to bring about a new round in the arms race. Increase efforts by people and states to make the disarmament process irreversible are all the more urgent.

In realizing the agreements reached in 1984 and 1986 by the leading representatives of both states, Erich Honecker and Kim Il-sung, a high measure of cooperation between both parties and states was achieved, both partners in the talks noted.

Central Committee Receives Bulgarian Officials

AU1701173789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND/ADN)—A BCP delegation headed by Nikolay Kosev, candidate member and deputy department head of the BCP Central Committee, was received in the house of the SED Central Committee on Friday [13 January]. [passage omitted]

Nikolay Kosev reported on the Bulgarian fraternal party's efforts to advance the process of social restructuring for the working people's benefit, according to the resolutions of the 13th party congress and the latest BCP Central Committee session.

Prior to this, the Bulgarian guests had acquainted themselves with the experiences of the SED leadership during visits to enterprises, and to educational and research institutions.

U.S. Accused of Launching New SDI Campaign

AU1701181889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 89 p 2

["ng" commentary: "Advertising Campaign for SDI"]

[Text] The planners of the SDI arms program are currently launching a proper advertizing campaign for a new round of the arms race. This has been noticed with concern by observers of the political scene in Washington, and the facts testify to this. The most recent piece of evidence has been furnished by the U.S. defense secretary who gave orders for the modification of a laser plant, located in the White Sands missile testing ground in the state of New Mexico, so that it can be used for attacking satellites.

This project undermines the general improvement in bilateral relations with the Soviet Union and endangers further progress in the sphere of arms control, U.S.

experts have warned. This is a fact that cannot be ignored. After all, both superpowers have agreed at the summits to reduce their strategic offensive weapons by 50-percent as soon as possible while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty. The practical testing of the laser cannon [Strahlenkanone] from the SDI arsenal, however, which is planned for this year, would be a direct violation of the ABM Treaty, which provides for the limitation of antiballistic missile defense systems.

In addition to that, the test ban, which for all intensive purposes exists, is in danger of being invalidated. The USSR unilaterally introduced such a ban in August 1983, and the U.S. Congress followed suit by repeatedly refusing to grant the financial means for the testing of antisatellite weapons. This was based on the insight that, as a so-called national technical means, satellites provide indispensable control and surveillance data with regard to the observance of arms control agreements. For this reason, they must neither be disturbed nor endangered.

However, the modification of the laser plant is not a single project. It is part of a series of SDI projects, by means of which the Pentagon wants to deploy star wars weapons in space. Exactly one dozen tests are supposed to demonstrate what 16 billion dollars have been used for so far. The future administration and the new congress want to make available additional exorbitant sums for the construction of a combat station in space that is equipped with laser weapons, and for testing a 5.5-ton infrared sensor, and other spectacular tests with futuristic space weapons.

Whether and to what extent this calculation yields the desired results, remains to be seen. The attempts by SDI advocates to force their course on the 41st U.S. president cannot be overlooked. In any case, their advertising campaign for space weapons illustrates the state,ent Erich Honecker made in his New Year's address "that mighty counterforces are increasing their efforts and will never accept defeat."

FRG Citizen Arrested by Border Security

LD1901111489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0958 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 17 January, FRG citizen Gerald Knoch was caught and arrested by the GDR's security bodies at the GDR border crossing point of Drewitz. Knoch participated in subversive actions against the GDR and violated the transit agreement as a mercenary for the criminal association of the professional criminal Fuerch, who is known to the courts. An inquiry was started and an arrest warrant issued.

Pieck's Letter to Manuilskiy Evaluated

AU1701145789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Heinz Kuehnrich, member of the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the SED Central Committee: "On Wilhelm Pieck's Letter to Manuilskiy (1939)"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 20 March 1956, the SED Central Committee Politburo, evaluating the 20th CPSU

Congress, established a commission "to examine the affairs of party members and former party members" who had been affected by the personality cult and its consequences. At its 26th session on 22 March 1956 the SED Central Committee expressed "its fraternal solidarity" with the CPSU "and its approval of the deliberations and resolutions of the 20th party congress." (Footnote 2) ("SED Documents. Resolutions and Declarations of the Central Committee, its Politburo, and its Secretariat," Volume 6, Berlin 1958) In a closed session of the Third SED Congress from 24 to 30 March 1956, N.S. Khrushchev's report to the 20th CPSU Congress on the consequences of J.V. Stalin's personality cult was read. In the discussion at the party congress, the CPSU's decisive criticism of the personality cult and its consequences, of the violation of Lenin's norms of party life, collectivity and socialist justice, of dogmatism, and of the disregard of the creative achievements of the people's masses and the millions of Soviet Communists was supported. In the week after the third party congress, party aktiv conferences discussed the results of the 20th CPSU Congress and the Third SED Congress in all bezirks and, later, in all kreise.

In the mid-sixties, the SED's attitude was also reflected by the "History of the German Workers Movement" in eight volumes. In it, it was explained that the development of the personality cult around Stalin "and measures taken in this connection" led "to serious violations of Lenin's norms of party life, socialist justice, and democracy." The thesis formulated by Stalin to substantiate them, that is—that the class struggle will inevitably become tougher after the victory of socialism—was declared to be wrong. In this historical work published by the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the SED Central Committee, those persons who were mainly responsible—Beriya and Yeshov are also mentioned by name—were accused of being "criminal forces," to whose mass reprisals KPD members and responsible functionaries also fell victim. (Footnote 3) (Compare: "History of the German Workers Movement," Volume 5, January 1933 to May 1945, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1966, pp 206-207)

When dealing with these questions in his ceremonial speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that the reprisals and arbitrary acts were incompatible

with the nature of socialism and were "crimes committed on the fertile soil of the abuse of power." Referring to the discussion on Stalin's role, he stressed: "We have to stick to the positions of historical truth and recognize Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and the protection of its achievements, as well as the crass political mistakes and the despotism that he and those around him permitted." He paid tribute to the Comintern as a product of October, as a school of internationalism and revolutionary fraternity. "It made internationalism a practical weapon in the struggle for the working people's interests, for the nations' and peoples' social progress." (Footnote 4) (Mikhail Gorbachev, "Speeches at the Festive Session and the Meeting of Parties and Movements, 70th October Revolution Anniversary," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1987, pp 24-25, p 62) In moving words, Mikhail Gorbachev paid tribute to those functionaries who had developed into personalities in the Communist International and who, with their sense of duty and honor, supported the suffering and persecuted, the suppressed and the exploited all over the world, and always struggled in the forefront in the fight against fascism, imperialism, and war, and for freedom, national dignity, and their people's welfare. The bitter aspects in the Comintern's history also cannot change these achievements.

In this context, a document in the Central Party Archives of the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee (F. 495, op. 10-9, ed. chr. 316, Bl. 20) [abbreviation in brackets not specified] deserves our attention. It answers the question about the attitude of the KPD's functionaries who represented the party leadership at that time and of members of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium, for example, Georgiy Dimitrov, general secretary of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium. The document, which is published here for the first time, proves that Wilhelm Pieck, as KPD chairman, supported and backed by the other members of the party leadership, repeatedly interceded for party members and functionaries who were endangered by arrest and reprisals. With total personal commitment, he supported those who had been wrongfully arrested and was keen on refuting the accusations.

Heinz Kuehnrich,

Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the SED Central Committee.

Matyas Szuros Announcement on Ties With ROK
LD1801224589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] The National Assembly's Cultural and Foreign Affairs Committees have held a joint session. Gyorgyi B. Kiraly reports:

[Kiraly] [passage omitted] It is true that the political and economic reform process taking place in our country does not elicit sympathy and interest from everyone. All intergovernmental talks aimed at cultural, educational, and scientific cooperation with Romania have failed. We can now unfortunately state that our cultural relations are being discontinued. At the same time, and this was also said today, a staggering letter was recently read out at the closed session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Its signatories were Romanian scholars who had asked their Hungarian colleagues not to break off relations with them despite the increasingly difficult circumstances, so that they could remain partakers of European scientific life. Several deputies spoke about the mistaken cultural direction of the past decades which had been dictated not by the market, but rather by party policy. [passage omitted]

Imre Varga criticized the appointment of defeated politicians as ambassadors. [passage omitted] Matyas Szuros, the Central Committee secretary who was present, said that the Foreign Ministry and diplomacy certainly quite frequently received parachutists—that is, people from the outside. He personally was pleased that the deputies were watching this like a hawk, and he emphasized that it was a rather widespread fact in international practice that a former minister became an ambassador. This has begun to show unfavorable tendencies in our country in recent years. He proposed that in the future the Foreign Affairs Committee hold a hearing on prospective ambassadors and that it express an opinion on their suitability.

In conclusion, Matyas Szuros announced that we would establish relations with South Korea in the coming days. He considered his announcement to be important, because he did not want the deputies in the Foreign Affairs Committee to be informed of this news by the press.

1989 Military Production To Fall 31 Percent
LD1801113789 Budapest MTI in English
0955 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Military Industry To Become a Crisis Industry?"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, January 18, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The positive political processes triggered by detente and disarmament are making it necessary for the Hungarian military industry to comply, to cut production and to replace military products with civilian ones. In 1989 military orders are expected to decline by 31 per cent.

The cut in military expenditures and a decline in orders from the socialist countries endanger the jobs of between 5,000 and 6,000 people in Hungary. The affected companies face problems in solvency, employment and the exploitation of capacities, the managers complain.

Some 80 per cent of the orders of the precision mechanics enterprise, whose main line is long-haul microwave equipment and accessories, come from the military. Back in 1986 the company was toying with the idea of building a new factory to expand production, but then orders began to decline. In 1987 the company posted a profit of 580 million forints (\$3.4 million). Most probably their operations will be loss making this year, so that the company will have to dismiss 600 workers.

Military orders for mainly hand guns account for 35 per cent of the production of the weapon and gas appliance factory which keep about a thousand workers occupied. The current amount of orders, however, leads company managers to conclude that in two years their military production will have to be cut to a third of the present level.

Military products constitute a quarter of the production value (4.5 billion forints (\$86.8 million) in 1988) of the Diosgyor engineering factory. This year the factory has half the orders of last year and will have to lay off some 1,200 workers. The company is now having talks with the State Office for Wages and Labour on having at least 600 of them pensioned before retirement age.

The machine factory of Godollo that makes components to military vehicles and tanks and repairs Army equipment is in a rather particular situation since it is owned by the Ministry of Defence and is run by soldiers. Last year it made 1.5 billion forints (\$28 million) of sales. Currently, it is working to half of its capacity since orders from the socialist countries dropped by 50 per cent and the exact size of Hungarian Army orders is not yet known. However, the factory would need to make at least 1.2 billion forints (\$22 million) of sales in order to be able to finance investment loans raised in its more prosperous period earlier.

The biggest Hungarian telecommunication factory Videoton put out 7 billion forints (\$132 million) worth of electronic equipment on military orders in 1988 and the job kept 7,000 people occupied. The decline in orders is reckoned to leave Videoton with just 4.5 billion forints (\$85 million) worth of jobs by 1991, involving the dismissal of 3,000 workers and 40 per cent idle manufacturing capacities. Banking on profits from military orders, Videoton had borrowed a loan of 3 billion forints (\$56 million), the repayment of which is getting increasingly difficult.

The Hungarian military industry exports 80 per cent of its output, chiefly to socialist countries, in an arrangement that calls for the payment of military products in kind. The arrangement is characteristic for the military

industry and the Army of Hungary which is smaller than its partners' has to put in as much as larger countries with bigger military industries and armies do.

Lieutenant-General Dr Gyorgy Doro, vice-president of the National Planning Office, informed Econews that in some justified cases, and on the ground of their financial-economic standing, the affected companies may apply for and be granted government assistance to transformation of their production structures to switch over to civilian products.

Such companies have to elaborate schedules for the intended switch-over. They must primarily use their own funds to implement these. In order to boost hard currency imports, for example, companies can reckon with economic policy preferences and may even involve foreign working capital.

Border Locations Considered for Refugee Camp
AU1301153889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 6 Jan 89 p 6

[Report by Tibor Franka: "We Made Inquires at the Interministerial Committee—Refugee Camp To Serve As Temporary Accommodation—Final Location To Be Decided Later"]

[Text] According to press reports, the provisional Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] sent a statement to MTI urging the establishment of refugee camps along the Hungarian-Romanian border. According to the statement, we should put an end to the increasingly frequent cases of chaotic measures recently taken at the Hungarian-Romanian border, including having possibly innocent refugees driven back across the border, and should provide conditions for accommodation and uniform treatment in one place. Of course, the desire to establish a refugee camp as soon as possible also clearly reflects the fact that the Hungarian nation cannot be forced to accept hostile elements or elements who endanger its internal order. On 5 January we asked officials in the Interior Ministry and from the Interministerial Committee in charge of refugee affairs about the conditions, location, and time of establishing the first refugee camp in the Hungarian People's Republic.

No one should think that the Hungarian refugee camp will resemble the camps known from foreign film clips: a place surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards. Rather, one should think of the necessary modification of one or several existing multistory buildings which will resemble a large temporary hotel. Besides, long before the statement published by the HDF, Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal stated the following in the 19 December edition of *MAGYAR HIRLAP*: "If the number of refugees continues to increase, we will have to consider establishing refugee camps." Thus, the idea is not quite new, but it is a reassuring thing that, for example, the HDF holds a similar opinion.

However, the increase in the number of refugees is not the main reason behind the need to establish a refugee camp; the main reason—and officials agree with this—is that we should eliminate the present contradiction whereby anyone who comes from Romania with a valid passport is an honest person while anyone who crosses the border illegally is a suspect. In order to avoid this classification, following the establishment of these camps, the refugees would temporarily be placed in these facilities, which are capable of accommodating 200-300 persons. Illegal refugees, who will be obliged to register in the camp, will undergo a security check here, and those who arrive legally will have their fate—work and accommodations—decided under more reassuring conditions. It is important for all of us to make certain that criminals who arrive with legal passports do not remain in Hungary, and that our authorities do not send back any refugee who crossed the border illegally, if he is honest or even persecuted.

Naturally, accommodations, food, health care, and administration in one location will cost much more than at present. However, the selection will be carried out under more peaceful conditions, and the goal of this selection will be only to discover those elements that are dangerous to Hungarian society.

Debrecen or Budapest, or both cities, are considered possible locations for such temporary refugee camps. These camps would be financed by the 300-million-forint fund approved by the National Assembly. Representatives of competent bodies will soon discuss the final location of these camps and the exact date of their opening.

Official Discusses Relations With CEMA
AU1301134389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Deputy State Minister Peter Szonyi, head of the International Economic Cooperation Department of the Council of Ministers, by Gabor Miklos: "Without A Glass Bell—Do We Really Need the CEMA?"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The idea of establishing a joint economic cooperation organization emerged at the conference of East European party leaders held in Moscow 40 years ago. Thus, this date has become the anniversary of CEMA. On this occasion, Gabor Miklos asked Peter Szonyi what kind of CEMA we would like to have in the coming decade.

[Szonyi] Mainly, we would like a CEMA that aids the economic development of both its member states and the community at large more effectively than at present. It must be clear to all that the demands for intensive economic development in the eighties have far exceeded the current system of cooperation. One should also remember that at the time, CEMA was established on the basis of a political decision. Its ideology is based on

mutual economic assistance. CEMA came into being as a glass bell to protect us from external harmful effects, and to assist in developing cooperation. [passage omitted]

No one should doubt the positive role played by CEMA's principles and methods in the earlier phases of cooperation. However, this was autarky and, in certain elements, it is still autarky today. We must say that for a long time, since the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, we have been initiating the modernization of cooperation within CEMA by stressing that real integration can be implemented only by means of market relations and by making use of goods-money relations. Therefore, we have repeatedly initiated a reform of the CEMA financial system and the use of the principle of international market prices, both in our turnover of goods and in our services. Unfortunately, all these attempts have failed. [passage omitted]

[Miklos] In connection with the problems inherent in CEMA cooperation, many people claim that our relations with CEMA are hindering our restructuring. People say that we should abandon this area, or at least reduce our presence in the CEMA market.

[Szonyi] It would be a mistake to blame only socialist economic cooperation for all our domestic problems. There have no doubt been cases of megalomaniac efforts toward industrialization during our economic cooperation. In addition, the conditions that provided additional sources of energy for our economy have been gradually exhausted in the past 2 decades. At the same time, it is obvious that it was precisely the huge CEMA market that made it possible for Hungarian bus production to develop and perform so well. However, it is also obvious that in several sectors our competitiveness did not meet the demands of the other markets because of the relatively low technical and quality demands that exist in the CEMA market. [passage omitted]

[Miklos] Will CEMA be able to meet the challenge of the full EEC market integration scheduled for 1992?

[Szonyi] The competent CEMA forums are examining this issue. We are also urging the preparations. In connection with this, several CEMA member states are urging the establishment of a unified socialist market. In my view, talk about this is still a pipe dream. It is difficult to talk about a unified market, because markets do not exist even within individual national economies. Developing market conditions is precisely the major task that faces us in CEMA cooperation. In my view, our major task today is to prepare the Hungarian economy for the new conditions in a timely way, by maximally mobilizing our own possibilities.

[Miklos] What is the Hungarian attitude toward the 40-year-old CEMA?

[Szonyi] In the current difficult economic situation, we should talk about the future rather than about the past. For our part, we want to initiate things and to act.

In our multilateral cooperation, we want to retain on the agenda our reform proposals for a radical reorganization of the CEMA integration mechanism. We consider this necessary, even if this ends the "monolithic unity" of CEMA. Accordingly, we will try to compensate for everything that we fail to achieve in our multilateral relations by pursuing it within our bilateral relations with individual CEMA countries. [passage omitted]

KISZ Congress Convenes; Secretary Elected
LD1301210189 Budapest MTI in English
1937 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—At its session which opened on Friday [13 January] in Budapest, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) decided—on the basis of the resolution of the national KISZ conference—to convene the 12th Congress of KISZ for the period April 21 to 23. The congress will be held in the Budapest sports hall.

At a closed session, the body decided on personnel issues postponed at its last session and then discussed and approved the budgets of KISZ and the Hungarian Pioneers' Federation.

Ferenc Gyurcsany, 28, first secretary of the Pecs City Committee of KISZ Central Committee, was elected secretary by the KISZ Central Committee. The KISZ Executive Committee was extended by 5 members, including Gyorgy Szabo, general secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

Publication Chiefs Agree To Consult, Cooperate
LD1401202389 Budapest MTI in English
1958 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI)—Under the auspices of two Hungarian magazines, "REFORM" and "KAPU" (GATEWAY), the editors of several publications, such as "BESZELO" (MOUTHPIECE), "A DEMOKRATA" (THE DEMOCRAT), "HITEL" (CREDIT), "MAGYAR ZSIDO" (HUNGARIAN JEW), "UJ TUKOR" (NEW MIRROR), "MISKOLCI FORUM" (MISKOLC FORUM), all met in Budapest on Saturday [14 January]. Among other things, they agreed to hold regular consultations.

One point they raised was that participants would set up a joint archive and a system of correspondents to break the monopoly of information. They would also like to be connected to news agencies. It was said that, as the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists (MUOSZ) had rejected their application to set up a separate section, they would form a faction at the January session of MUOSZ.

Economic Results for January-November 1988

AU1301122389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 4 Jan 89 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Main Statistical Data on Economic Situation—Economic Performance for January-November 1988"]

[Text] January-November 1988 (Data as a Percentage of Performance During the Same Period Last Year) Industrial State and Cooperative Enterprises Volume of gross production:

Industry total	99.7
within this:	
metallurgy	103.4
machine industry	101.2
chemical industry	100.6
building material industry	100.3
light industry	99.2
food industry	96.8
Industry, excluding food	100.3
Number of employees	97.2
Gross industrial product per employee	102.6
Construction Sector of the Building Industry	
Production of the building industry	97.7
Number of employees	99.1
Foreign Trade (at current prices)	
Imports	100.8
Ruble accounts	97.9
Non-ruble accounts	103.9
Exports	110.4
Ruble accounts	95.6
Non-ruble accounts	124.3
Retail Trade Turnover (at current prices)	108.9
Within this:	
Food, beverages, and tobacco	109.4
Clothing	98.9
Miscellaneous industrial articles	110.8

Procurement of Agricultural Products.....99.5

 Within this:

 Plant cultivation and garden products.....101.5
 Live animals 96.8 || Animal products | 102.5 |

Achievement of Transportation Enterprises Goods delivery

 (based on goods-tonnage/kilometers) 109.2 |

Long-distance transportation of passengers

 (based on passenger kilometers)..... 101.0 |

Population Revenues from Central Resources..... 112.5 |

Consumer Price Index 115.7 |

 within this:

 November 1988 as compared to October
 1988 100.3 |

In the period January-November 1988, production of the state and cooperative industrial enterprises slightly decreased (by 0.3 percent) compared with the same period last year; and excluding the food industry it increased by 0.3 percent. Production in the basic material sectors increased by 2.4 percent; in the processing industry production increased by 0.2 percent; and production in the energy sector decreased by 2.4 percent. Within the branches of the processing industry, the chemical industry (without the energy and machine industry sectors) increased its production by 2.5 percent, machine industry production increased by 1.2 percent, and light industry and food industry production decreased compared with the same period last year. Domestic industrial sales decreased by 2 percent, and industrial exports increased by 6.2 percent compared with the same period last year. Exports increased primarily to convertible currency markets. Among the domestic consumers, industry sold 1.2 percent more products to the domestic wholesale and retail sale and, excluding food, it sold 6.4 percent more products compared with the same period last year. Sales for investments and producer consumption decreased. The number of industrial employees decreased by 2.8 percent compared with the same period last year. Industrial production per employee exceeded last year's rate by 2.6 percent. The construction sector of the building industry carried out 2.3 percent less construction and assembly work than in the same period last year. The number of employees in this sector decreased by 0.9 percent.

'Excerpts' of Plenum Resolution Presented
LD1801195889 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] We have now received the announced excerpts of the resolution of the 10th Central Committee plenum. They will be presented by Slawomir Malinowski.

[Malinowski] The continuation of the renewal of socialism demands the deep reform of the PZPR. The Central Committee will decisively act in favor of changes in the tasks, and in the structure and method of work of the party such that it effectively fulfills its role in a pluralist society and in the conditions of a socialist market economy. These tasks will only be met by a party with a clear ideological identity and political orientation, possessing a socially approved program for the socialist development of Poland, a party reaching for the best traditions of the Polish nation, representing the interest of the generality of working people, the leading place among whom is held by the working class; a party that is unified on fundamental matters, a mass party, internally democratic and effective in its activity. The Central Committee approves the directions of transformations in the party contained in the Politburo theses. It confirms its trust and gives unambiguous support to Secretary Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and also the party leadership, expressing the conviction that it will assure the effective implementation of the decisions made at the plenum.

According to the essence of this program, the PZPR strives for a modernized form of socialism in Poland. The road to it passes through the achievement of its essential goals and values in the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual life of the nation.

The following are included among them: humanism; the good of man, his needs and strivings; effective, well-organized work which is the basic source of man's existence and self-realization; social justice, as the equality of life's chances and measures among which the most significant is the effectiveness and quality of work; democracy, expressed in the joint participation of citizens in the running of the state as well as in the unity of public life; human and civic rights in their socioeconomic and political and spiritual dimension; freedom, understood as the creation of room for initiative; diversity of human aspirations and the activities in the economy, politics, science, and culture; patriotism, confirmed by work and a sense of responsibility for the homeland, nation, and its country; internationalism, expressed in a bond of solidarity with the forces of progress, democracy, and socialism; and respect for the rights and sovereignty of other states and nations.

The guarantees of these values are to be: the dominant share of social ownership—confirmed by ever-increasing efficiency—in the national economy; the leading role of the working class, fulfilled in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia; the systemic role and authority of

the party, constantly and actively affirmed in democratic mechanisms and also in cooperation with the whole of the Polish left, as its mandate for leadership in society; and a permanent place for Poland in alliance with the Soviet Union and in the community of socialist states.

The PZPR recognizes as a particular obligation the socialization of state ownership, the full restoration of its social essence to the cooperative movement, the increased role of workers' self-management in the introduction of the economic reform and the strengthening of efficiency in enterprises, and the strengthening of the sovereignty of working people and their influence on process of management. The Central Committee expresses itself in favor of decisively eliminating the remnants of the centralist-bureaucratic system of administering political and economic power shaped in the period of Stalinism. The Central Committee recognizes as a necessity the political and moral satisfaction of all the victims of Stalinist lawlessness. It instructs the Politburo to undertake initiatives and activities toward this end. The PZPR seeks cooperation with its allies, the shaping in Poland of a socio-political system whose basis is a socialist parliamentary democratic state, and also a civil-minded society [społeczeństwo obywatelskie].

It is striving to form the basis for the consolidation of democratism and the guarantee of law abidance, so that the Sejm and People's Councils, elected on the basis of a democratic electoral law, will fulfill the role of a real center of state authority.

It favors expressing and separating the concepts in the activity and balance of the legislative, executive, and juridical authorities; of strengthening the government's responsibility to the Sejm and of local administration bodies to people's councils; and the high standing of the law.

The PZPR recognizes the need to take into account the pluralism of interests and aspirations and to broaden the coalition exercise of authority, through ensuring a place for the opposition which recognizes and operates within the constitutional order.

We favor the development of the tri-party coalition of the PZPR with the ZSL and the SD. Together with its allies, the PZPR cooperates with the associations of Catholics and lay Catholics and with nonparty supporters of the reforms; with organizations and associations of working people, all centered around the program platform of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

The Central Committee comes out, at the same time, in favor of broadening national accord; of shaping in Poland an extensive pro-reform coalition, open to varied standpoints and opinion, including those of the opposition, linking all those who strive to get the country out of crisis and want to act with respect for the law and the Polish *raison d'etat*.

The Central Committee stressed the need to increase the influence of all partners in the widely understood pro-reform coalition on personnel policy, recommends all party organizations to socialize the course of selection and evaluation of management personnel in the state and economy, and also the seeking of methods corresponding to the new requirements, for promoting talented, innovative, creative, and bold individuals. The Central Committee states with full force that the future of the state and nation will be decided by the effectiveness in the solving the problems of the young generation, and its active participation in the reforms of the state and economy. In policy concerning youth, we recognize as the most important current tasks: the attainment of an accord relating to the main, joint aims of the patriotic education of the young generation and the creation of the conditions for active, independent participation by young people in political life.

In accordance with the new understanding of its role and place in the state and economy as a political-ideological force, the PZPR consciously forsakes substituting for the bodies of state power, administration, and management [świadomie rezygnuje z zastępowania organów władzy państwowej, z administrowania i zarządzania]. Long-term aims and current tasks are implemented through the activity of its members in all cells in state, economic and social organizations, making use of mechanisms of political and parliamentary evaluation, and also inspection of the echelons of the government and administration.

Guided by the principles of humanism, carrying out activity on the bases of the scientific, rationalistic worldview, the PZPR strives to strengthen freedom of conscience and tolerance in the society and in the state. It recognizes the religious convictions of its members as their private matter. The basis for the membership of the PZPR is the acceptance of its ideopolitical program and statute. The Central Committee considers that a more effective implementation of principles of democratic centralism is of key significance for the reforms in the party, as is the greatest possible democracy in the programmatic searches and in arguments and discussions, and the greatest possible discipline and effectiveness in activity to implement the adopted resolutions and decisions.

The Central Committee recommends the dissemination of mechanisms and forms of interparty work which would be conducive to the enlivening of thought; which would make it easier to express other concepts before taking a decision. It instructs the party committees to initiate activities in political clubs, centers of sociopolitical thought, associations of a leftwing ideological profile, and also press forums. The headquarters of party committees should become centers of meetings of people from various milieux and organizations, and especially of young people and party veterans. The Central Committee instructs all echelons to comply to the principle that draft decisions, and especially those of significance,

ensue from a wide interparty discussion and consultations with nonparty members. It proposes to consider the purposefulness of introducing the institution of the referendum into interparty practice.

The Central Committee recognizes transformations inside the party demand: the removal of bureaucracy in the system of directing the party and the strengthening of the role and independence of basic level committees. The Central Committee recommends a radical limitation of the instructions passed downward, and the wider use of signals and opinions flowing upward from below; the application of a fully democratic mechanism of personnel changes and also a system of selecting the leading party aktiv; the linking of elections in the party with competition in styles and methods, activity and also in the presentation of concepts for implementing the program and policy of the party; and the enlivening of ideological activity and thorough reconstruction of the system of intraparty education. The Central Committee instructs voivodship committees to fully exploit the existing opportunities and also the urgent implementation of new organizational solutions increasing the effectiveness of party members in their places of residence.

The Central Committee, recognizing as indispensable the strengthening of the superior function of party committees over executive bodies, recommends: the increase of the participation of Central Committee members in the decision process; between plenary meetings, the organization of regular meetings of smaller groups of Central Committee members according to regional or branch criteria; the implementation of the rights of Central Committee members to put forward candidacies for important party and state posts; the increase of the role of commissions in the preparation of and inspection of the implementation of decisions undertaken; the curtailment to the essential minimum the participation of heads of units of the state administration in the executive bodies of party committees; the implementation of changes in the organization and operation of party political employee cadres.

The Central Committee recommends that party committees make fuller use of the statutory possibilities of organizing horizontal links for cooperating and exchanging experiences between party organizations and milieux. In cases going beyond the statutory solutions, by way of experiment, party organizations, echelons, and committees are recommended to search for and initiate innovative methods for the party to fulfill its role. The Central Committee upholds the stance of the sixth Central Committee plenum, on the subject of the open road back to the PZPR of those people who left it in the eighties and who by their activity were not disloyal to the program principles and ethical demands of the party. It is recommended that party committees should undertake such an initiative in relation to all those worthy to return to our ranks.

The Central Committee stresses that the implementation of long-term program goals and profound transformations in internal life and methods of operation should be linked with the solution of the most important economic and political problems today.

They include: the introduction of economic reforms, particularly the adaptation of production to the needs of the population; an improvement in supplies to the market and halting inflation, in line with the consolidation plan of the national economy; the rationalization of incomes policy and the introduction of a strict regime of economies in all spheres of state life and the economy; the determined elimination of speculation on the weaknesses of the market and the confiscation of unearned profits; the creation of rational and effective forms of welfare protection; and the specification, in accordance with the demands of national accord, of the principles for the revision of the electoral law.

The undertaking by all party echelons of political preparations for elections to the Sejm will be a test of the maturity and strength of the party. The Central Committee recommends that the Ideology Commission of the PZPR Central Committee and also the team for the preparation of the Third National Theoretical-Ideological Conference devise a draft of changes in the PZPR program and that the intraparty Commission of the Central Committee devise a draft of changes to the PZPR Statute. The Central Committee instructs the Politburo to urgently undertake indispensable programmatic, organizational, coordinating, and inspection decisions and activities with the aim of the efficient and consistent implementation of the decisions and directions of party activity specified in this resolution.

Further Reportage on Party Confidence Vote
LD1901093889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0800 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] In the late evening, PAP broadcasted a report on the closed Tuesday-Wednesday night session of the Central Committee plenum, which was published in the press today. A correspondent writes: Statements made by Central Committee members during those 2 days were, for the party leadership, a clear signal that the line of action proposed by them is causing doubts and fears, caused, among others reasons, by the experience gained since the early eighties. During the night debate, Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke several times, speaking among other things, about the need for confidence in the party leadership. He also submitted his resignation from all party and state functions, as did Mieczysław Rakowski, Czesław Kiszczak, and Florian Siwicki. After a lengthy debate during which Wojciech Jaruzelski asked for a vote of confidence in the Party leadership, the leadership left the room and the voting was held. The Central Committee supported the leadership, with only four

people abstaining. After this, a vote was taken on the resolution, which was passed—after a discussion and amendments—with 143 votes for, 32 against, and 14 abstentions.

This part of the resolution, devoted to pluralism, will be published in Friday's papers.

Orzechowski Queried on Trade Union Pluralism
LD1801155889 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1305 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Warsaw radio correspondents Jolanta Kucharska and Bogumil Husseinow "after the end of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kucharska] Professor, I have in front of me the Central Committee stance on political pluralism and trade union pluralism. Could you define the most important points of that stance? And could you answer for us what motivated party members at the 10th plenum who were opposed to that stance?

[Orzechowski] It is, I believe, a fundamental political document of the 10th plenum. It has a systemic significance, systemic in a two-fold sense: it crossed the T's if it is a question of parliamentary and democratic ideas, and of the civic and social idea outlined in both the theses and the (?results) of the 10th plenum. The T's are crossed because it gives a practical expression to the thesis that part of the democratic parliamentary system and part of the civic society are in opposition. Its representation in parliament, activists, generally its representation, its legal activity. [sentence as heard] Second, it is a document with a systemic character because it removes the basic obstacles in the way to reconciliation. That means it opens the way to the restoration of pluralism in the trade unions including Solidarity, while it informs about a whole array of conditions which must be fulfilled so that the way to trade union pluralism really will be wide and smooth.

What are those conditions? Above all, it must be (?based) on conditions of national reconciliation, national reconciliation defined at this roundtable. That is the basic condition to start up the whole process of restoring trade union pluralism. Other conditions—well, there must be a minimal guarantee, but however quite an explicitly defined guarantee that trade union pluralism will not become a weakening, destabilizing agent, basically speaking, an agent consolidating the political system in society.

I believe that this is also the reply to the second question relating to the motives of those who opposed this stance and who expressed this in this debate and in the voting. It is only 7 years—we all remember, really everyone, we remember—since the events in Poland in 1980-81.

There were people in the hall who have personal experiences, some very tragic, from this period. The liberation from those events, from those experiences, and the growing conviction that these conditions are indispensable for pluralism to become to be fulfilled, are not so straightforward. For ultimately, these are words. This must find expression precisely at the roundtable. This must also find expression in the attitude and stance of the other side to which this is addressed.

[Kucharska] Does this mean that the first real effect of this Central Committee stance will again be the removal of the roundtable to the Jablonna and the start of proceedings at the roundtable; or will the first effect be—as some party members fear—that as early as today or tomorrow Solidarity rallies and meetings will be held in Poland and that membership cards will be handed in? What next?

[Orzechowski] Madam, no one can give such a 100-percent guarantee, because this depends on the will, realism, and sense of responsibility of those about whom we are talking now, those who would like to distribute declarations and organize rallies as early as tomorrow. We are counting precisely on the realism and sense of responsibility of all those potential organizers, supporters, and those who would like to use the opportunity formulated by the document, the stance. In one of its points—this in a sense is a reply to this—we say that the Central Committee points out that creating accomplished facts, contrary to the law on trade unions which is in force, I mean the law of 8 October 1982, may disturb the process of development of trade union pluralism.

Thus, briefly speaking, it is a clear statement that we cannot passively watch actions directed against the social order, the constitutional legal order, against the existing regulations, laws, and so forth.

[Husseinow] Don't you think that the multitude of conditions connected with the legalization of Solidarity can contribute, let's say, to ill the will of the other side?

[Orzechowski] It is hard for me to say now, as we do not yet know the reactions. I believe that what was most significant was, however, said there. The magic word has been used in the Central Committee Document. The basic obstacle to all practical steps has been removed, and the fact that conditions have been formulated... [Orzechowski changes thought] There are many of these conditions. They are after all significant, not artificial, and they result from experiences and are anticipated and possible effects of such a development of events. All in all, though, it is a gigantic breakthrough.

[Kucharska] What forms will the political pluralism reflected in this attitude take? Can one expect that other political parties will come into being.

[Orzechowski] We have already had reason to speak of this on more than one occasion. This is not a taboo at all; we do talk of political parties. The Central Committee's stance is that of people who have a realistic outlook on the development of events and the processes taking place in Poland. At the moment what is really realistic takes the form of clubs and associations and in the future also of political representative bodies or a representative body of the constructive opposition in the Sejm.

There is here also a sentence that opens up precisely the way for a further development of events. That is, it is stated that the Central Committee regards this formula concerning political clubs, associations, deputies' groups, and deputies' clubs within the newly elected Sejm of the 10th convocation as a development formula. Here is a key sentence to the effect that positive practical experiences of this stage could create the conditions and pave the way toward ever richer organization forms of the country's political life. Well, what richer organizational forms of the political life are there than clubs and associations? Here we have various kinds of groups and movements within the party, for we do not rule anything out.

[Husseinow] This Central Committee stance is very innovative and progressive. As for the party's conservative members, is there a fear that they will leave the party once this position has been endorsed?

[Orzechowski] There are always fears. I do not like this word, conservative. I would rather say inflexible. There are also those who are very careful, very experienced, and also those who suffered a shock. For many people it can be a real shock because it undermines all the ways of thinking, stereotypes, and dogmas that they were following. One will have to do everything to avoid this.

POLITYKA Interviews Solidarity Leader Walesa
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[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by POLITYKA reporters Jerzy Baczynski and Marian Turski: "...That Is Why We Have To Come To Terms"—date, place not given]

[Text] [POLITYKA] The seventh anniversary of martial law fell on 13 December. The next day, Minister Urban said at his press conference that he "subscribes to almost everything Lech Walesa said in Paris." You must admit that sounds improbable. What do you think of Minister Urban's compliments?

[Lech Walesa] He praises me, but I hold major grievances. If anyone thinks I can be cut off from "Solidarity," he is very much mistaken. It only results in a waste of time, and anger on our part. Such a division can lead to greater anarchization and a loss of control over the situation. Anyone who praises me mischievously is acting against all of us, but if he does so genuinely, then

O.K., that is fine. About my Paris remarks, I think one ought to wash one's dirty laundry in one's own house. Perhaps that is the reason why I speak a little differently when I am abroad. Well, I toned myself down.

[POLITYKA] Over 20 million Poles watched your recent television meeting with Alfred Miodowicz. How do you assess this meeting? Are you pleased with it?

[Walesa] I happened to be feeling bad that day, and I came to the studios sick. However, perhaps it is just as well that I was so calm and that some of my normal reflexes were absent. I give this meeting a very good assessment, but not from the angle of struggle or victory. It must make something happen; the stagnation that existed and exists in Poland must end, because we are all suffering as a result of it. That is why something should happen following this meeting; I believe something will. In a situation where we are standing still, this debate was a kind of breeze. It put wind into our sails.

[POLITYKA] Several weeks ago, you said, probably in connection with the "roundtable": Either this is a great game in which they are trying to outmaneuver Walesa once again, or it is the beginning of a new chapter in Polish history. What do you think today? Is it a game, or is it a new stage?

[Walesa] Even if it is a game, it is bringing positive results. Very slowly, we are emerging from the stagnation. I am convinced that some sort of new stage is opening. Although it still has no practical effects, the chances are there.

[POLITYKA] In other words, something in the climate is changing for the better. How do you view the last 7 years? What have the two sides, the "government" side and "social" side, learned in that time? How have they changed?

[Walesa] I will reply in a somewhat different way. I think what happened on 13 December 1981 was not good, but that is history now. If we want to talk about 13 December seriously, I suggest both sides appoint several historians, preferably three to five, and have them hold a public debate on what happened. My job is to resolve new problems. I am not a historian.

[POLITYKA] All right, let us not talk about what happened. We want to get back to the question. What do you think has changed on both sides since then?

[Walesa] I said I do not want to go back to the past right now. I am a man who is geared to the future. I push aside what happened in the past, in order to have a clear head. What has changed? The authorities have convinced themselves that nothing can be achieved in the country without accord, and the social side has also convinced itself that it will not get far without the authorities.

Poles are seeking possibilities; they are seeking what the authorities could agree with and what society could agree with. We are already reaching agreement on some topics. These topics are bursting forth like flowers. The question is, are these buds the prelude to a real reform? For 8 years there has been a struggle for what is possible and what is essential. Therefore I do not think this period of time has been wasted, although it may turn out to be wasted if we do not make the most of our chances and if someone or something hinders us.

[POLITYKA] You are trying to understand your adversaries, and that is probably essential, and yet they are asking why the opposition refuses to recognize what the authorities have done in recent years, why the opposition believes the authorities have to be compelled to accept everything, and why the opposition fails to see how very different today's Poland is from the Poland of 1980 or 1982.

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I have always said that one's point of view depends on where one is sitting. If in France, from where I have just returned, there are 100,000 young Poles whom conditions forced to emigrate, is that good? How many people have we lost during this period? About 1 million. Or let me put it this way. If our debts are increasing year after year, is that a positive change? The hell it is. Are we better off today? Of course one can give examples showing that things have indeed improved, because there is more democracy and freedom of speech now, but is that a gift from the authorities? Has society forced the authorities to grant it? Let us leave these calculations to those who perform calculations. I think there are a few good things, and many bad things. The good things have to be retained, and the bad ones removed.

[POLITYKA] You have admitted that both sides have learned something over the past few years. So let us proceed to "Solidarity." What is "Solidarity" as a movement, organization, and collection of opinions today?

[Walesa] We held a talk in 1982, after several people had been released from internment. I pondered over many things during my internment, but I did not know if I was right. So I asked them what concept we should choose, whether we should aim toward the unity we had in 1981, or whether we should adopt a different concept; I asked whether the old concept was already a part of history and whether we should now bank on pluralism. At that time I spoke of three or four "sectors,"—a political, social, economic, and legal sector—in which we should struggle for pluralism. However, when it turned out that the economic pluralism, with which we were the most concerned, was beginning to fail, pressure to achieve political pluralism, to form political parties or something like that began to be applied.

So today, "Solidarity" is still a reform which possesses various sides...

[POLITYKA] Is it a movement in favor of reform?

[Walesa] Yes. It is so broad that there is even room for the authorities. The main current of this movement remains trade unionist, and this movement will be a trade unionist one. "Solidarity" comprises factory commissions, regional structures, newspapers, publications, and the National Executive Commission, but most of all, "Solidarity" comprises people who consider themselves to be part of it. It may be that some of them will no longer find room in "Solidarity" and will transfer to various political clubs. They will still feel like children of "Solidarity." Out of the aims of "Solidarity," pluralistic currents—a trade union, economic, and political current—will emerge, and one must give them the chance to lead an organizational existence and perform their own programmatic work.

[POLITYKA] You have partly answered our question about what "Solidarity" is today. So is "Solidarity" factory cells, or supporters of a "movement in favor of reform," or a symbol that unites various oppositionist groups?

[Walesa] The government could say that "Solidarity" is a struggle against the authorities or an attempt at anarchy. The government is right. Someone else could say that "Solidarity" is a struggle for reforms. He is also right. For me, "Solidarity" is a struggle to force the authorities to accept reforms which are being pursued from various positions and in various streams—associations, clubs, economic movements, and, of course, the main trade union stream. It is no longer only being pursued from one position.

[POLITYKA] Prime Minister Thatcher said recently that "Solidarity" is not only a trade union. It is also the nucleus of the opposition.

[Walesa] No. "Solidarity" is many roads leading to the reform, to a different Poland. None of these roads on their own are "Solidarity," but only all of them together. In the future, perhaps only the trade union will retain the name "Solidarity." The other organizations and streams will merely preserve their "Solidarity" origins.

[POLITYKA] In other words, it looks as if you agree with the official or semi-official view whereby it would be healthier for "Solidarity" if those political clubs and fledgling parties containing people who are mainly interested in politics would separate themselves from "Solidarity." The trade union would then be relieved of these people, and could concentrate on trade union affairs.

[Walesa] I suspect the authorities of wanting to deprive the trade union of its mind by putting forth this concept. Now let these people hold debates in their political parties, clubs, and groups. Let them divide and govern themselves. However, we say no. We will reach this stage, but from the other side. First there has to be a single force to keep an eye on the authorities, a force that

will safeguard the independence of these lesser organizations, and will make their existence easier; a guarantee for the reforms, a guarantee that we will not be cheated, can only be provided by a single "Solidarity." The authorities are saying no. They are saying: Let us give them a few seats in the Sejm, a deputy premier position, and several ministerial positions. Then we will divide and weaken them.

[POLITYKA] Therefore, "Solidarity" is to consist of trade unionists and non-trade unionists; everyone who is opposed to the authorities and seeks protection from them. How different is this state of affairs from the one in 1981?

[Walesa] Look, gentlemen, we have a multitude of organizations in Poland. We even have three political parties. Are they independent? Can they oppose the authority that has been ruling Poland for 40 years? There is no force and no defense against that which exists. That is why we children of this system cannot let ourselves be outmaneuvered. This is not the kind of "situation" there was in 1981. We agree that there cannot be permanent strikes, battles, and attempts to seize power. We can safeguard ourselves against this. However, we will not let ourselves be divided. We will not let ourselves be deprived of guarantees of our independence.

[POLITYKA] If we view this situation from the side, it looks more or less like this: On the one hand, there is a movement which you represent, a movement afraid of being outmaneuvered and cheated; and on the other hand, the authorities are afraid of the country becoming unstable. Are these justified fears?

[Walesa] Yes.

[POLITYKA] Then please tell us what guarantees against being "outmaneuvered" Lech Walesa needs, and what he can do to reassure the authorities. If we are to reach a compromise, one has to put oneself in the other side's position. Where do you see the limits of compromise for "Solidarity," and where do you see these limits for the authorities?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, let us not joke. We want to be a social movement. What are the official trade unions? Of their cadres 95 percent belong to the party. Miodowicz belongs to the party. What does that mean? It is the most political trade union I have ever seen. Does it help the authorities? It does. But when we want the same kind of organization, we get no for an answer!

[POLITYKA] I beg your pardon, my question was about something else...

[Walesa] ...I know. You are trying to prove that I want to swallow up the authorities.

[POLITYKA] No. On the contrary, we are asking about the guarantees necessary for both sides to come to terms.

[Walesa] You are saying that if the trade union is legalized, the country will be threatened with destabilization. The authorities will let us have this union, whether they want it or not. The only question for me is whether or not this will involve the use of force, and what the costs will be. Tanks will not be of any help here, because they have never been of any help in the past. Young people will not stand for this. They will set fire to the authorities tail, and soon. Poland needs a rapid accord. These guarantees are also necessary, but we are not going to talk about them in public. This is a subject that should be discussed by several guys who understand that this method of governing cannot continue. I repeat, the OPZZ is involved in politics, and we, too, will be involved in it. The only thing is that the OPZZ wants to involve itself in politics, but we do not. We want to bring the situation under control. Let the political streams that want to go a separate way do so, but let them so on the basis of independence, not dependence. It is not true that we are going to chase the communists out. They will find it even easier to govern, but they will do so according to clearly legible principles. We could help these authorities govern well, and see to it that they have the means with which to govern. But they do not want our help, because they have grown accustomed to the old style, and feel comfortable that way.

I understand the fears on both sides. What can be done about them? We are all 7 years wiser. The international situation is much better today. Major changes are taking place in other countries, especially the Soviet Union. I talked to Professor Andrey Sakharov in Paris. In Moscow, they understand that it is necessary to abandon the Stalinist system and break with it for good. Totalitarianism must be replaced by pluralism.

In Poland we have heard a similar view recently from the highest rostrum. This is kindling our hopes that reformist forces will prevail in the ruling camp. Polish society is waiting for this, and time is running out. "Solidarity" is constantly reaffirming its readiness to conclude an anti-crisis pact for the sake of the reform. We appreciate the change in tone and language in some of the speeches by members of the authorities. But that is not enough. There have been too many promises. What we need is a clear program of reform, a program involving the de-Stalinization of all areas in life. People must believe that they are becoming masters of their own house. Other countries have found people who think this way. Why should there be an absence of them in the Polish party?

[POLITYKA] Sir, a moment ago you said that conflicts must be avoided, costs reduced, and so on. We are not here to present the stance of the authorities. But you should consider the fears, inhibitions, and views of the other side, just as the authorities must consider the fears and inhibitions of "Solidarity." That is why we ask you again about the guarantees essential in order to reach an accord.

[Walesa] But we gave guarantees before martial law was imposed. All these guarantees will stem from the structure of the union, from its organization, from the law. We are ready for an honest compromise. But I will not say this in POLITYKA, because it ought to be the subject of official talks.

Guarantees? I assure you that we pose no threat to these authorities and their apparatus. We have neither a political party, nor a group capable of assuming power. And the party has plenty of time to change along the path of evolution. However, the party is in danger, along the path of revolution. And that is why if it does not come to terms with us and if we fail to find a place for it and for ourselves, then the party could be in danger, and probably we could as well. It is better to calmly come to terms now, rather than by fighting later. One can achieve more that way. And the party will find it easier to govern if it sees what its place is. In Poland there must be a place for everyone. The quicker the party comes to terms with us, the better. New solutions by force? We do not want to become another Afghanistan. I will say what I said in 1981. We are meeting along the road of reforms, because there is no other road.

[POLITYKA] You know how people might interpret that? They might think you are saying: Let us come to terms, or else we will give you a thrashing.

[Walesa] No, not me. I am a man of evolution. Other people might dish out the thrashing when they see my ineffectiveness. I am defending myself, just like the authorities are. Together, we can do something for Poland. I do not want a revolution. I want to protect myself and my children. But I can issue a warning about what the situation is leading to.

[POLITYKA] Do you have young people in mind? Does what you have said stem from your experience in Jastrzebie, where young people did not receive you kindly?

[Walesa] No, I did not even have that in mind. There was a militant group in Jastrzebie. But the most dangerous young people are the silent majority who will slowly head toward a struggle because their situation in life will not improve quickly. There comes a moment when people cease to experience pain and fear.

Jastrzebie? If I had known where I was going and why, I would have adopted a different attitude. There was a misunderstanding. I was told I was only going to attend a mass, that the strike there was practically over and all that was needed was a signature. I was told I ought to go, because it was in Silesia. Well, I stepped on a mine while unprepared. I have handled worse things than that in my life. It does not show that I am ineffective. It shows that I was led astray.

[POLITYKA] And so you think you can handle the most radical groups of young people? Are you and "Solidarity" some kind of prestige figures for the young people who entered their adulthood in the 1980's?

[Walesa] We are important to these people insofar as we are "against." And what happens in the future, when "Solidarity" is established, I do not know. There will be clashes. Young people experiencing the conditions in which they live will demand radical changes, while older, more experienced people will restrain them.

[POLITYKA] Will "Solidarity" the way you see it, in other words an organization defending the justified interests of all groups, including young and old miners and dockers, not become an obstacle to the reforms, especially economic reforms? You say it is a movement in favor of the reforms, but these reforms will pose a threat to many young people, and they might seek support in the trade unions.

[Walesa] If things were ideal, of course we would have to create a strong economy first, and later strong trade unions, which would live off this economy. But there already are official trade unions, and "Solidarity" will come later. These are the facts. And now? Now, the trade unions must be arranged in such a way that they do not upset the economy. It will be necessary to establish rules for solving conflicts without strikes.

A union must demand as much as possible, but only as much as a computer and logic dictate. However, credible data on the economic situation inside the enterprise is required. People are not stupid, and will not put themselves at risk.

[POLITYKA] Nevertheless the reform, which is creating a market economy, may reduce the standard of living of those who are weak, less talented, more lazy, or used to presenting demands instead of assuming responsibility. They will look to the trade unions to defend them.

[Walesa] That will certainly happen. And the trade unions must defend everyone. But we are fighting for the return of the meaning of work. If you do not work, you get nothing, and if you cannot work, tough luck. There is and will be poverty. Too bad. There is social welfare, a powerful church, and there are people with kind hearts. They will not let the weak perish.

Let everyone think of himself, and we will create the conditions for him to earn money honestly and decently. That is all. That is the simplest philosophy.

[POLITYKA] You often meet workers. Do you think most of them prefer to earn less, provided that they earn something at all, or are most of them ready to take a risk?

[Walesa] I think that not more than 5 percent of them think: "Things are not so bad in this system. They give a little, I steal a little, and I get by." There are not many people in Poland who think like this, and a good thing too, because there are countries where 80 percent of the population thinks this way.

Before a new order comes into being, there has to be a little disorder. There will be many conflicts. The introduction of healthy economic principles will not be a painless process.

[POLITYKA] What do you mean? A strong trade union will not oppose the closure of factories, unemployment, and maximum output for minimal wage increases, in other words, phenomena which a market reform must bring, at least theoretically?

[Walesa] There is no blueprint that tells us which factories are profitable and which are not. If the conditions of the economy are clear and legible, then we will know how a trade union should react in various conflicts. Such conflicts are always painful, but there has to be a clear method of solving them, one approved by most of society. One can defend workers and abandon the defense of redundant enterprises.

[POLITYKA] But in Western countries where such "legible blueprints" exist, the trade union movement is on the wane. Membership is falling, and the strength and social prestige of the unions are collapsing. In France, millions of working people are demanding a curtailment of trade union rights, just as they did in England. Trade unions find it harder and harder to find room for themselves in a healthy economy. In England, I have heard it said many times that one can have either strong trade unions, or a strong economy. Which of these options do you subscribe to?

[Walesa] It varies in the West. Sometimes the trade unions made mistakes, failed to keep abreast of modern technology, and failed to understand certain economic necessities, and lost as a result. The trade unions must find places for themselves everywhere in the world. If they do not, they will perish. It is as simple as that.

[POLITYKA] While on the subject of the economy, let us discuss one more issue. Both you and your advisors are in favor of expanding the private sector (though many government advisors say the same). All right, the private sector is more efficient than the state sector. But private entrepreneurs are banning trade unions on their premises. That is another paradox. You, a trade unionist, support a transformation of the economy that could turn out to be disadvantageous for the unions?

[Walesa] Why talk about problems which our grandchildren will have to solve? Let us break the trade union, party, and economic monopolies; that is what we must do today. Later we will think about what the trade unions can do under the new conditions. All right, there

will be problems. In that case, let us form a fast-reacting representative organization. If we make mistakes while implementing the reforms, we will quickly correct them. These are technical matters.

[POLITYKA] You said that we should not escape into the distant future. So let us talk about a future that is less distant. How do you imagine Poland in the year 2000?

[Walesa] Wait a minute, how many years are there to go, 10? That is not much. Poland could be like Italy is today, in other words happy, though not completely. Or things could be different. In relation to the East, we could be the way Hungary was in its prime, a country in the lead and pulling the rest behind it.

[POLITYKA] We see that you are an optimist.

[Walesa] Yes. But the expense of the reforms worries me.

[POLITYKA] You are an optimist and a realist as well. Do you think we can beat other countries in our part of Europe in our effort to achieve the desired model of a future Poland? To what extent does the success of our reforms depend on what is happening among our neighbors?

[Walesa] I have a specific concept, something I would call a Walesa offshoot. Have you heard of it?

[POLITYKA] No.

[Walesa] All the socialist countries have a common denominator. This systemic common denominator must be changed. But, apart from that, every country in this region has a different numerator. For example, the Soviet Union has many republics; Poland has an independent church, "Solidarity," and private farming; the GDR enjoys FRG aid; and so on. And my theory is this. We have to replace the denominator by the numerator. Who has the best numerator? If we exclude the GDR, because the GDR is in a special situation, then the answer is Poland. If we, possessing the best conditions, botch the reform, then the other countries will have minimal chances of success. And the reforms must take place everywhere, because there is no choice. This is not something dictated by Walesa or Gorbachev, it is something dictated by new technology. Even if someone wanted to revert to Stalinist methods, it would not be possible. Technology would not let him do so, because one has to remain in touch with the world. It is becoming increasingly clear that there is neither a socialist nor a capitalist economy or technology. All we have is a good or bad economy or technology.

[POLITYKA] Here is a Marxist theory: The level of production forces is determined by social relations.

[Walesa] I am sorry, but I am not too strong on that. I thought up my theory on my own, you see. I am self-taught.

[POLITYKA] Sometimes, do you not say things that are pleasant to hear? Historians praise Pilsudski or De Gaulle because they were capable of saying things to which public opinion was opposed. There are times when you are inconsistent. Sometimes you talk like a politician, but at other times you succumb to the atmosphere generated by crowds. Is that not so?

[Walesa] I am a practitioner. Let us imagine that my horse is escaping. I want to stop him. If I get in his way, he tramples me. So what do I do? I have to catch up with him, jump on the saddle, and bring him to a halt. And if someone sees this, he might ask: What is this? He was supposed to stop the horse, but in the end he is running faster than the horse is? It all depends on when you see me, whether you see me running, or whether you see me pulling at the reins. It was the same with the strikes. It is always the same with a lively trade union movement. What about Radom, what about the "clutching of jaws"? I said those words in a different context. What I meant was that the Radom road leads nowhere. I said in Radom, don't be stupid. Those are my words.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps we will clarify our previous question. Who are you today? Are you more of a trade unionist or more of a politician?

[Walesa] I am a trade unionist who has been forced into politics. When radical groups of young people attacked me, I had to start calculating and thinking like a politician, even though I understood their intentions. I convinced myself that I have to consider interests other than those of these young people.

[POLITYKA] In any case, the world treats you like a politician, as the leader, or perhaps a symbol, of the Polish opposition. After all, it is no coincidence that various people come to Gdansk just to meet you. Do you feel like the leader of the opposition?

[Walesa] That is different. A man may be a leader for two reasons. Either he has been appointed to the position, or he is considered to be one. I am a double leader for two reasons, first because I was elected, and second—well, why did you come to me instead of to somebody else? It is you who are making me a leader more than anybody. I do not say I am a leader. One can see what I am doing, and my convictions make people come to me.

[POLITYKA] How much of what you say and do stems from your own thoughts, and how much from your advisers? How do you use the advice provided by your entourage?

[Walesa] You are my advisers as well. The way we are talking now, I am learning new things whether I want to or not. I hear various arguments, and select from among them. I will never play the role of a doctor, editor, or teacher, because I am too stupid. Let economists deal with economics and journalists deal with writing, but let everyone deal with politics. I will select what practical

life tells me to select. I would not want people to believe that I am surrounded by people who indulge in scheming on my behalf. If anyone says that my advisers are leading me astray, he is wrong.

But gentlemen, we are talking about so many things, but they are not providing many results.

[POLITYKA] That is because it is so easy to talk about proper values like freedom, equality, justice, and fraternity, and so easy to agree with them. But we also have the reality you talked about. It has to be changed. And this is where difficulties crop up. How is reality to be changed? We are seeking programs and ideas among our fellow employees and among people belonging to the opposition who write for us and whose articles we read in other papers. So what? You will agree that it is easier to talk about objectives and values than about down-to-earth issues that have to be resolved immediately.

[Walesa] One hundred years ago it was possible to have a program. One could take from some people and give to others. But today we are aiming at a system that will not emerge overnight. Our system is supposed to combine the good features of capitalism with the few good features of socialism. How? Only by the trial and error method. We will impose nothing. We are struggling for the opportunity to select the best solutions. We are struggling for the emergence of various programs in the political, social, and economic spheres. And then there will be something to choose from. We can learn from the mistakes of others, and that will help us.

[POLITYKA] Agreed, but you yourself said that Poland is in a state of powerlessness, stagnation, and frustration. When we talk to people who belong to your closest circle of advisers, they often say: Even if Solidarity were to take power in Poland, it too would probably be unable to get the country out of this depression.

[Walesa] Gentlemen, nothing can be achieved by using force or by way of revolution. What is important is a process that begins with freedom. People who are competent and wise need to be given an opportunity to formulate programs and act. We have to create conditions for public control and a little more democracy. Then, let us look for the best solutions. Let us set up a rapid response group that will make it easier to achieve union, economic, and political pluralism in Poland. However, then we should not quarrel about whether it is socialist pluralism or some other kind of pluralism, but let us not try to outwit ourselves. Is there a danger of anarchy or destruction? What are we doing to stop a wave of demands from erupting that could bring everything down? Perhaps, the country could allow itself something like that? That is the best path. Actually, it does not take all that much. The situation is bad, because

everyone has too little initiative. If everyone individually—the pope, the primate, Walesa, or the government—issues a call saying: friends, let us get to work and create some order in this country, then it would have much less of an effect than if we were to say the same thing together.

[POLITYKA] But, on the basis of what you have said and what Minister Urban says, an enormous amount of mistrust has accumulated in our country over the last 8 years...

[Walesa] As far as we are concerned, it has accumulated over the last 40 years...

[POLITYKA] Okay, but mistrust between the Soviet Union and the United States has grown up over no shorter a period of time. Now, however, when both sides are seeking to reach an agreement about arms control at least, there is talk of the need for "confidence building," or for "confidence-building measures." Do you not think that we can go down the same path in Poland? This is a question for both you and the government side.

[Walesa] No, it is not a question of whether we can. We must! But take a look at what has happened. I put forward Kuron and Michnik, because I value their skills, but also because I wanted to test intentions, to see whether the government would try to interfere with the cards in my hand, whether it would respect my independence... And what happened?

[POLITYKA] And we have stayed in the same place.

[Walesa] I would like to return to what I said. Accord is necessary in this country. Let us not get held up on pretexts. The key issue is the legalization of Solidarity. There is nothing to be afraid of. I repeat, we do not want to bring down the system. We have a common interest in compromise. We have to do something together for Poland. There simply is no other system. We are not rejoicing, and we are not weeping—these are way things stand today. Perhaps this will change in 30 years time, but change can also be brought by revolution, and thus, by violence and bloodshed. I do not want that. Poland's well-being is the order of the day. That is the most important issue, and that is why we must reach an agreement.

[POLITYKA] Thank you.

Opposition Documents Issued on Walesa, New Tasks

AU1801130289 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
14 Jan 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Disputes Within Solidarity"]

[Text] Western radio stations have broadcast the content of documents issued by Solidarity activists that level charges at Walesa and his actions. We publish these documents below along with part of Lech Walesa's press conference in which he responds to those charges.

The demand for a meeting of the Solidarity National Commission to be called by 31 January 1989:

"We, members of the National Commission and Solidarity activists from various parts of the country who are gathered here in Gdynia on 18 December 1988, demand that a meeting of the National Commission be held by 31 January 1989."

An assessment of the current domestic sociopolitical situation:

"The communist system was monolithic and did not tolerate competition in either the ideological or economic spheres, and a significant section of society, including a significant section of the party apparatus, are dreaming of becoming owners of shops, workshops, and factories.

"The brazenness of the ideology of communism and atheism, flagrant subordination to the Soviet Union, and the required symbolic acts of submission caused society to become frustrated. Exploitation as the basic source of conflicts was perceived by society rather late and was not perceived in its entirety. The communist system reaps enormous profits by exploiting its subjects in a way that is not encountered in any other system. These profits are protected by assuming ownership of the information media, as well as the institutions that constitute and protect the law: the courts, the Sejm, and the police. The collective nature of ownership, that is, the absence of persons who can be shown to be reaping profits from exploitation directly, makes it difficult for working people to realize that they are being exploited. The same role was performed by propaganda that sought to convince people that the goal of socialism is the defense of employees. However, the collective nature of ownership as well as propaganda that expressed support for the employee made it difficult for the system to wage a struggle against unions. The entire collective owner is composed of officials, who had no personal interest in exploitation. They only carried out instructions and were themselves employees; the only difference being that they were better paid. The language of communist propaganda did not contain any bias against employees. This provided trade unions with an opportunity to score victories in wage disputes and made it very easy for them to win in the verbal and ideological debate. The promise not to use repressive measures against Solidarity meant that the trade union became a forum for efforts to defuse all kinds of social conflicts and frustrations and to seek compensation. The pressure was so strong that the real goal of the trade union, that is, the struggle against exploitation, the struggle for higher real wages, and the struggle against difficult working conditions was pushed onto the sidelines. The division or assumption of power became the dominant trend. Martial law crushed these hopes—union activity was completely abandoned. At the workplace level, relief funds were operated that paid out benefits to people in difficulties. Union organizations above that level were engaged solely in political

activity. Thanks to the support of the U. S. State Department, a policy of accord and reform decidedly came to the fore. This policy is now beginning to enter a period of success, the period during which it will be realized. It is to provide a contract on the strength of which the conciliatory group, that is, the so-called constructive opposition is to receive certain political concessions in return for safeguarding the economic interests of the system. This means that certain opposition groups will be obliged to prevent social rebellion and restrain society in the face of a further reduction in the standard of living, that is, increased exploitation. As we can already see, the economic reform is based on turning state factories into companies. Companies are created by private organizations and persons. Of course, this is not being accomplished by selling off plants. According to information gathered by "Fighting Solidarity," total national savings would only be adequate for the purchase of barely 3 percent of the economy. Thus, companies are in a sense being donated. The incomes of members of companies are so large (amounting to as much as Z50 million a month) that in a few years time their members will be able to own them.

This creates an entirely new situation for the trade union:

—It destroys the existing division between state and society; by becoming owners, the PZPR apparatus is ceasing to be communist, but remains an enemy of free trade unions; by becoming owners, part of the opposition are becoming definite enemies of trade unions;

—It destroys the existing division between East and West; Western industrialists, both large and small, are greedily eyeing the reserves of highly skilled manpower that exist in Poland at hourly wage rates that are 20 times lower than those in their countries. That part of the West is definitely hostile to trade unions;

—If a sufficiently large class of owners emerges among Roman Catholics, the church will be unable to maintain a one-sided attitude of support for employees. It will be compelled to remind us to work better."

The position of members of the Solidarity National Commission on the current situation:

"Solidarity now faces a new and very difficult situation. Before our very eyes, the nomenklatura is plundering our national wealth, which is changing from being a collective owner into a group of private owners. This is being accompanied by the growing exploitation of working people; a rapid deterioration in the standard of living and the quality of life; galloping inflation, which divests work of its sense, increases economic chaos, and makes it difficult to formulate economic demands; growing dependence on the USSR; the criminal exploitation of natural resources and the environment; stripping the country of foodstuffs (for example, potatoes are shipped to the USSR), basic consumer goods, and commodities

such as steel that are essential for the functioning of industry. Taking advantage of people's poverty and helplessness, and of the legal and financial chaos that exists, the party is enriching a new class of owners, speculators, and common thieves with the protection of the police, the government, and party committees. Solidarity has divided into those who have placed their trust in Lech Walesa and are striving to bring about the registration of autonomous trade unions in individual workplaces and those who have remained loyal to Solidarity. Society has divided into those who support the authorities and are seeking to participate in government and in ownership along with the communists; those who do not see a way out and have submitted to the authorities; those who oppose the authorities, but cannot find effective ways out; and those who oppose the authorities, but cannot find effective methods, real goals, and support. In this situation, we think that it is essential to concentrate all our energies on defending employee interests for the good of working people and the credibility of the Solidarity trade union. We propose:

"—a struggle for maximum wage raises wherever possible, as we do not have any kind of influence on prices and also do not have an influence on expenditure, on, for example, military expenditure or government waste. The struggle for wages during the 8-hour working day would be more effective if it would be possible, at the same time, to organize a united refusal to work additional hours or overtime;

"—the organization in private firms, companies, and cooperatives of trade union groups that would launch a struggle for an 8-hour working day. These groups must operate in secret and always act after careful consideration, as the level of dependence in smaller firms is always greater.

"—the collection and publication of information on victimization, because of union activity; the exporting of raw materials, energy, manufactured goods, foodstuffs, and manpower; the role of wages in production costs; who are the real owners of companies; who takes over plants that have gone into liquidation. We think that in the current situation society is not helped by sham activity that is undertaken for advertising purposes connected with highlighting one's presence and intellect;

"—not hindering young people or scolding them for launching a struggle using the methods that they deem to be correct;

"—ceasing to devote energy, time, and money for constantly stressing one's presence and importance at religious ceremonies, consecrations, and award ceremonies;

"—restraining oneself from issuing pseudo-political statements on every subject: restructuring [Russian word used], reform, and the like. Ceasing to give prominence to very rich people and people who have become employers as trade union activists."

The document drawn up by the Lodz group:

"In taking part in events to mark the 18th anniversary of the shedding of workers' blood, calling for our dignity and rights to be respected, and on this 7th anniversary of the imposition of martial law, we, the Solidarity activists who have signed this document, declare:

"Today, our trade union—a trade union that was born out of the blood, suffering, and dreams of Polish workers to defend their innate, inalienable, and inviolable rights, a union that has demonstrated its authenticity and steadfast determination to defend these rights, a union that has survived massacres, prison, dismissal, and other forms of repression that were initiated by the introduction of martial law—faces a greater danger than at any time in the past.

"As a result of the conditions under which Solidarity has had to operate for the last 7 years and the pressure exerted by the PPR authorities, the democratic procedures in the union have been blocked.

"This has led to:

"First, one political tendency—by no means the most popular one among union members—has acquired a preponderant influence on the union's decision and policies; attempts to introduce communist principles for membership; attempts to introduce communist principles of democratic centralism; and the settling of political disputes within the union by methods such as withholding information, slander, and personnel purges, partly in order to curry favor with the authorities; attempts to transplant to the union a so-called revolutionary ethic that suits the Communists, but is alien to the union, an ethic whose features are a disregard for the union's own statute and resolutions, a disregard for the results of the only democratic election in the history of the PPR, and usurpation based on control of finances and information channels, as well as treatment of the union as a collection of empty symbols that can be given any kind of significance and given the form that is required by narrow group objectives; a threat to its identity as a union organization, an organization that is democratic, pluralist, and is loyal to its own rules and duties.

"Second, in the name of solidarity (if the word is to retain its primary meaning), we call for:

—"The reorganization of Solidarity's governing bodies with due attention being given to the union's statute, the results of the democratic elections held in 1981, as well as the achievements of the period of underground activity and the period of coming out.

"The first step should be to reorganize the national commission, with its core being made up of those of its members who, despite being victimized in various ways, remained active in the union, as well as those people who have de facto acquired all the rights and duties by serving

in the underground, on open strike and post-strike committees, as well as in union structures that have been resuming activity conducted openly;

—"The reorganization of the union's program with greater emphasis being placed on the defense of employee rights against a background of human and civil rights in a broad sense, as well as a very definite and consistent reference to Roman Catholic teachings as the cornerstone of the program."

"Third, in light of some statements and declarations that are issued, as it were, on behalf of the union, and various ambiguous insinuations, we resolutely state the following:

—"No genuine trade union anywhere in the world can agree to sacrifices that would entail:

a) a reduction in the standard of living of employees, pensioners, and people in receipt of benefits; a threat to a dignified life for the working family, and increased poverty,

b) the acceptance of working conditions that would pose a threat to health and life,

c) the acceptance of the use of unemployment as a desirable instrument to maintain discipline among employees,

d) increasing, by whatever means, the length of the working day or week, and curtailing the employee's right to rest,

e) dismantling or reducing the system of social benefits, including, in particular, rights to benefits for families, for looking after sick persons, and rights to health care.

"Obtaining these rights has cost much blood and suffering on the part of generations of employees.

"Fourth, we clearly state that, if the trade union is to remain what it is and perform its tasks well, then it cannot be allowed to turn into a political party, or a substitute for one, nor can it recognize the leading role of any party. Of course, members of the union can be members of various parties.

"Fifth, an agreement between the union and the authorities should be based on principles of mutual respect for differences in the nature of their tasks, as well as the common national interest.

"The union should treat the authorities as an indirect employer and should describe the areas of disagreement and accord at that level. The experience of democratic countries shows that coexistence and even constructive cooperation at this level is possible and can benefit social and national interests.

"We are calling for the construction in our fatherland of a social order that is based on freedom, truth, justice, and solidarity, in which the dignity of the working man and the citizen is realized to the full.

"Today, there was a 1-hour strike at the K3 department of the Gdansk shipyard in defense of the shipyard and, during the strike, the 800-strong work force of the K3 department also adopted these documents and identified themselves with the theses that they contain."

Strike Continues at Pabianice Fabric Plant
LD1801225189 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT
18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—Workers continued a general strike at the industrial fabrics factory in Pabianice, central Poland, today.

The organizers forwarded 11 postulates demanding pay rises by 25 thousand zlotys on the average and relegislation of "Solidarnosc," among other things. The demands were supported by the factory union, excluding the one concerning "Solidarnosc."

After several hours' talks with the management some demands were accepted, and the managers declared readiness to rise monthly pay by 16 thousand zlotys. This afternoon talks were resumed after consultations with the ministries concerned.

Meanwhile, Hungarian radio and TV correspondent Gabor Nemes asked government press spokesman Jerzy Urban about the government stand on the strike.

The government is not a party in pay disputes in enterprises, Urban answered and stressed the enterprises' self-financing character, pointing to the consequences of paying too high wages, including high taxation resulting in the bankruptcy of enterprises and cutting off their credits.

In reply to a question concerning imposing legal sanctions for wildcat strikes by government bodies, Urban termed this an ultimate resource, adding that economic rules should point out nonsensical character of most illegal strikes demanding pay rises.

At 8:00 p.m. the talks were broken off. Announced was that a plenipotentiary of the Minister of Industry is to come to the factory.

The director of the factory said in the main edition TV news bulletin tonight that he hopes that the Ministry of Industry together with the Ministry of Finance will lift a part of taxes levied on the enterprise in a move to allow the crew's wages to be raised by some 20 thousand zlotys. "I think that this sum would satisfy both sides," he added.

**Urban Comments on Radio Free Europe,
Bratkowski**

LD1801140789 Warsaw PAP in English
1210 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban referred at his weekly conference on Tuesday to the meeting of opposition journalists.

"What I said at the previous conference was summed up by Radio Free Europe with a statement that the journalist in question never put forward any aggressive postulates, that they do not have any claiming programme and so forth. This information is not true," Urban said.

"In 1981, the SDP (Polish Journalists Union) was turning into an adventurist organization," Urban recalled and, elaborating on the recent meeting of opposition journalist said: "The leader of that grouping (Stefan Bratkowski—ed.) said that television should be made accessible to everybody who has something wise to say. I share that view, only that all editorial offices the world over determine themselves who in their opinion has something wise to say and who has not." He also said that the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" RSW publishers must not have monopoly on paper and distribution.

"It is of course known that the RSW has no such monopoly," Urban said. "He (Bratkowski—ed.) also demanded legalization of the press published in the second circulation so far. He also demanded that journalists working abroad be allowed into the ranks of the Polish journalists' organization. Obviously enough, Polish journalists working abroad are fully entitled to membership of the SD PRL (Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic)," Urban stressed. "So (he) must have meant journalists from non-Polish media—Radio Free Europe for one. Demands also concerned compensation for losses sustained by journalists 'as a result of verification and reprisals'.

"RFE also said that the aforementioned journalists demanded the lifting of censorship. On January 9 Radio Free Europe spoke about recovering the funds and office spaces taken over by the SD PRL and about admittance to the journalists' organization of journalists from clandestine press. They demanded that confiscated equipment be returned to independent publishers and people repressed for such publishing activity rehabilitated. "Obviously, some of those postulates could be a subject of a business-like discussion. I would only like to point out that my former colleagues as usual display an immense lack of political common sense, emitting so much noise at so delicate a moment. Noise does not help the process of agreement and is created, as it were, on demand of all those forces on both sides which claim that agreement will immediately lead to a conflict, to an escalation of demands and to a quick recurrence of the situation from the year 1981.

"I regret that men of pen, people who have a broader contact with the complex political matter than other milieus are the first to blurt out with a noisy listing of political demands which is now so detrimental to national interest," Urban said.

Leaders' Public Appearance 3-9 Jan 89

AU1401155989 [Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 4 through 10 January reports the following appearances of Polish leaders covered by Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, and Zbigniew Sobotka, PZPR Politburo candidate member, met leaders of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth from all over the country at Srodborow near Warsaw. (5 Jan 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, has received Jozef Wiejacz, PPR ambassador to Italy. (4 Jan 89 p 2) On 4 January, he received Jerzy Kuberski, head of the Group for Permanent Working Contacts Between the PPR Government and the Holy See. (5 Jan 89 p 2) On 9 January, he received British publisher Robert Maxwell. (10 Jan 89 p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, attended a meeting of the Warsaw Central District PZPR Committee in Warsaw on 3 January. (4 Jan 89 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met employees of the State Labor Inspectorate at the organization's headquarters on 4 January. (5 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, received editors-in-chief from socialist countries who are visiting Poland in connection with the 45th anniversary of the publication RADA NARODOWA. (10 Jan 89 p 2) He received Diawara Gagny [name as published], departing Mauritanian ambassador, at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 9 January. (10 Jan 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting to mark the 45th anniversary of the weekly RADA NARODOWA to which editors-in-chief of similar publications in other socialist countries were invited. (9 Jan 89 p 2). He attended a conference of PRON voivodship committee secretaries held in Warsaw on 6-7 January. (9 Jan 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received a group of Norwegian parliamentarians on 5 January. (6 Jan 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the OPZZ, received a group of Norwegian group of parliamentarians on 5 January. (6 Jan 89 p 2) On 6 January, he met heads of the State Labor Inspectorate. (7-8 Jan 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met party instructors from all over Poland to discuss the 10th plenum on 4 January. (5 Jan 89 p 2) On 4 January, he also met members of the main board of the Polish Teachers' Union. (5 Jan 89 p 2) On 6 January, he attended a PZPR voivodship committee plenum in Walbrzych. (7-8 Jan 89 p 2) On 9 January, he visited Zamosc and met the voivodship party aktiv. (10 Jan 89 p 2)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR Politburo member, met workers movement activists and veterans in Poznan on 6 January. (7-8 Jan 89 p 2)

Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of national defense, attended a celebration to mark the 60th anniversary of LOT Polish Airlines in Warsaw on 7 January. (9 Jan 89 p 2)

Zdislaw Swiatek, PZPR Politburo member, met the work force of the "Fakop" Factory in Sosnowiec on 9 January. (10 Jan 89 p 2)

Marek Holdakowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Gdansk, attended the inaugural meeting of a party sponsored innovation team on 6 January. (7-8 Jan 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, received a group of Norwegian parliamentarians on 5 January. (6 Jan 89 p 2) On 5 January, he met members of the governing board of the Polish International Journalism Club in Warsaw. (6 Jan 89 p 2)

SCINTEIA Reviews CSCE Final Document
AU1801180789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1641 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Romania Is for A United Europe of Peace, Security and Collaboration—Article in the January 18 Issue of Daily SCINTEIA—Excerpts"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/1/1989—The statement of the Socialist Republic of Romania on the Final Document of the Vienna all-European meeting has been recently released. As already reported, the statement was circulated as a document of the meeting.

Romania, that included the question of building European security among its primordial targets of foreign policy, making an important and widely acknowledged contribution to the normalization of the inter-state relations in the continent, to the preparation and successful unfolding of the historic conference for security and cooperation in Europe, in 1975, as well as subsequently, to the follow-up of the process started by the Helsinki Final Act—has given special attention to the Vienna meeting from the onset.

Inspired by the wish to contribute, along with the other participant countries, in the achievement of understandings and accords conducive to enhancing confidence and security, to amplifying the multilateral collaboration in the continent, Romania advanced a string of constructive proposals on essential issues on which Europe's future, peace, security and collaboration depend, making persevering efforts for the meeting's decisions, starting from the realities of the world today, to offer a new perspective for the inter-European relations. According to Romania, in the spirit and in harmony with the Helsinki Final Act, these relations must rely upon the principles of full equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, every people's right to self-dependently decide its socio-economic development path, principles the importance of which was reiterated also in the Vienna meeting Final Document.

Romania considers that the Vienna meeting Final Document comprises in general a string of important provisions the translation into life of which will be of a nature to help a better understanding and collaboration among the European peoples, the consolidation of confidence, security and peace in Europe and the world over.

Emphasis should thus be placed on the outstanding importance of the understanding reached on the beginning of negotiations on the reduction of conventional troops and weapons in Europe. No doubt, the decision on the organization soon of such negotiations, parallel to negotiations on the development of the measures of confidence-building and strengthening of security in the continent, accounts for an important step ahead.

Romania sustains the necessity of a global approach to the disarmament issues, through the endorsement of measures regarding concomitantly the banning and elimination of all mass destruction weapons, nuclear and chemical, the substantive reduction of the conventional weapons, of the armed forces and military expenditures, as parts of one and the same process.

The Final Document of the all-European meeting in Vienna also comprises a train of acceptable provisions on the development of the collaboration and cooperation in economy, science, technology and environmental protection. Romania supported, in the proposals advanced, the endorsement of as committing as possible [as received] measures conducive to the expansion of cooperation in production, to the intensification of the transfer of technology, speaking up for the elimination of the discriminatory restrictions and obstacles and from the commercial and economic exchanges among the participant states.

As for the human rights issues, the Final Document of the Vienna meeting includes a string of important provisions with which Romania agrees. It is regrettable though, that the document does not comprise a number of fundamental principles of human rights and of humanitarian issues, like: the securing of jobs and the eradication of unemployment, the professional training, the education and securing of jobs and dignified living conditions for youth, the right to equal pay for equal work, provision of adequate housing conditions for every family, the whole population's wide access to the gains of modern science and technology, the securing of conditions of dignified, civilized life for all citizens. Presenting the above-mentioned proposals, Romania thinks that the securing of the fundamental human rights, the fructification of man's creative capabilities is a basic requirement of the promotion of the cause of understanding, general progress of all nations in the continent.

On the other hand, under the pretext of the so-called preoccupation for human rights and freedoms, provisions were introduced and maintained in the document, that are not in accord with the principles and spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki, with the realities of the present-day epoch, also running counter to international norms and regulations espoused by all participant states. Some of the provisions included in the Final Document are of a nature to open the way to interference in other states' internal affairs, to the violation of national independence and sovereignty, and they may stimulate and encourage obscurantist, retrograde activities and manifestations.

The Final Document also includes provisions which in fact stimulate emigration and encourage the brain drain affecting the interests in the socioeconomic development of peoples, of the less developed ones in particular.

Given such aspects, during the proceedings Romania presented its remarks and reservations specifically referring to those problems which were not appropriately reflected in the Final Document.

That is why, as underscored in the released statement, given all this, Romania does not undertake to fulfill the provisions of the Final Document to which it made amendments that were not accepted, provisions it considers inappropriate.

Through its policy Romania has virtually guaranteed full exercise of human rights and liberties, as enshrined in the country's constitution. The powerful manysided growth of the national economy, the harmonious distribution of the forces of production and the harmonious development of all the country's regions provide objective conditions for all citizens, with no distinction whatsoever, to enjoy such rights and liberties in a framework of real democracy which enable people to take a direct part in running all the sectors of socioeconomic life, society as a whole.

Considering that the Final Document includes important provisions for the building-up of security and growing cooperation in Europe, and wishing to contribute to the efforts for the further promotion of the aims to which the participating states subscribed, Romania joined—with the above-mentioned reservations—the consensus on the adoption of the draft Final Document. As the statement points out, Romania reiterated its stance, set forth during the proceedings as well, that all the provisions of the document—as its content mentions—shall be applied in the constitutional framework of each country, according to its laws and rules, to its specific conditions and traditions, as well as in a spirit of cooperation, with strict observance of the principles of relations among the participating states.

As the statement of the Socialist Republic of Romania shows, the intensification of efforts for the growth of collaboration, for the building-up of confidence and security on the continent, for a united Europe in the diversity of social systems, a Europe of free, independent and sovereign states, of progress and peace fully meets the interests and aspirations of all European peoples, for the benefit and progress of mankind as a whole.

Daily Cited on Cooperation With All States
AU1701165189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1220 GMT 17 Jan 89

["SCINTEIA: Romania's Broad Cooperation With All Countries, in the Interest of Peace and Progress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/1/1989—An important place in the Romanian party and state policy is held by the steady concern for a broad development of relations with all socialist countries and, at the same time, to strengthen the unity and cooperation of all the

countries that build the new system. The activity carried on by our party to develop cooperation, the dialogues between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the party and state leaders of the other socialist countries, the understandings reached at top level, the tangible measures taken in the spirit of the treaties of friendship and cooperation, of the joint declarations and of other bilateral documents offer the image of a rich and productive growth of Romania's relations with the other socialist states.

Broad development is seen also by economic links, the socialist countries' share in Romania's relations as a whole being of roughly 57 per cent. After the ninth congress, the volume of Romania's exchanges with the other socialist countries increased about 30 times. Superior forms of collaboration, of cooperation in and specialization of production in building economic units, jointly capitalizing raw materials and energy resources are expanded. While expanding bilateral relations, Romania develops cooperation within the CMEA for the translation into fact of the programmes adopted, as well as cooperation in scientific research with a view to fastly applying the results scored to production, this being a prerequisite for the assertion of socialism under the present conditions of a powerful upsurge of the revolution in science and technology.

The whole development of Romania's relations with the other socialist countries is set on the unflinching observance of the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance. Throughout the period after the ninth congress, Romania has rigorously applied these principles also militating most energetically for their unabated observance on a general plane, by all and towards all. The RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu have permanently stressed that it is only on the basis of these principles that a real and strong, freely, not mechanically accepted new-type, superior unity can be built.

Practice has proved the correctness of this stand. It is a reality that today these principles are widely acknowledged, that the theories of the so-called limitations that distorted their content have disappeared, life itself proving that if the new principles of relations are effectively applied unity enhances, and that if they are not achieved the respective relations are harmed.

This is a question of exceptional importance all the more so as only together, in full solidarity can socialist countries build the new system successfully, and this can be but the outcome of the joint fight of all the peoples that have embarked on the road of socialism.

Certainly, the assertion of the new principles of relations is not only a theoretical problem, a thesis to be proclaimed on "big days", it presupposes their strict implementation with all the practical conclusions they entail.

Thus, from the principles of independence and sovereignty, of autonomy devolve the right, the obligativity and necessity that every party continuously work out its tactics, its political line, creatively applying the general laws of scientific socialism to historical, social and national conditions, to its own specific character and to the realities in its country. It is the merit of the RCP, of its general secretary to have fought, decades ago, the dogmatic conceptions of the "compulsory pattern", of the "unique model" of building socialism. And as there are no patterns in building the new society there can be no compulsory patterns or recipes for improving socialist construction.

Just as, in light of the same principles, of the postulates of equal rights and noninterference in domestic affairs, any tendency of posing as "judges" or "teachers" that teach others or make assessments of other countries' policy are absolutely inadmissible, the only one that has the right to assess this policy being the people in the respective country exclusively.

Certainly, the taking into consideration of specific peculiarities does not exclude but imposes the necessity that the demands devolving from the existence of general ineluctable laws be always taken into account. Of vital importance is in this respect the ensurance of the leading role of the revolutionary party in the process of building the new system. This fundamental thesis of the dialectical and historical materialism was and is fully verified by life itself; unlike the other social systems known in history, the social system does not appear spontaneously and does not develop by itself, it is built purposefully and in an organized manner, the function of leading centre in this work going to the Communist Party called to set the construction programmes, rally the masses, organize their creative energies and channel them towards the goals of each stage. International experience recorded cases that intellingly showed how serious shortcomings can be when anarchy manifests in socialist construction, when the leading role of the Communist Party is eroded. The consequences of any diminution of this role can be but liquidation with a negative impact on socialist construction.

In today's conditions, when the necessity to give up the policy of strength with its tremendous risks of nuclear conflagration and destruction of the whole of mankind becomes ever more obvious, the problem of economic competition between the two systems, of renunciation of confrontation in favour of comparison of the concrete results acquires outstanding significance. Of great theoretical and practical value in this respect are the ideas articulated by President Nicolae Ceausescu in the April theses as well as in the exposition to the democratic forum and in other recent documents, according to which the comparison between socialism and capitalism, between their results cannot be confined to the level attained in the development of the productive forces, as it is bound to include factors of such overwhelming importance like the level and content of social relations.

It is about the way how conditions are ensured for a dignified life of the inhabitants of every country—jobs, elimination of unemployment, housing, health care, professional training of the working people, especially of the youth. Fitting in this profoundly humanist orientation is the proposals advanced by the RCP general secretary regarding the establishment of fair ratios among the incomes of various social categories, the necessity to ensure minimal incomes necessary for a normal, dignified life for all inhabitants of every country. In other words, it is about a comparison, within the economic emulation, of the ways how the human rights are actually met, in their substance.

The RCP general secretary has the important merit to have thought out and implemented steadily the political orientation toward the powerful development of Romania's relations with the developing countries, with the non-aligned states that make up two thirds of mankind. Of particular importance for the intensification of this collaboration, that went through a turning point at the 9th congress of the RCP, have been the summit meetings and talks occasioned by the numerous visits paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as by the visits paid to Romania by leaders of those countries. The commercial exchanges too, have grown some fourfold in the last two decades. Telling is the intensification of the cooperation in products. About half of Romania's total cooperation ventures are with those countries. The experience acquired by Romania in this domain stands for an impetus in the further amplification of the collaboration based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. Therefore, on planning to intensify this year the cooperation in production with other states, Romania pays great heed to its expansion and diversification first of all with the developing countries, the the active participation in the building by joint efforts of new productive units and other socio-economic projects. Romania's collaboration is oriented to the development of the productive forces, to the industrialization of those countries and the capitalization of their national resources, for the creation and development of their own national economies, and for the consolidation of their independence. Fitting in this is also the support given to the developing countries by training their national cadres and sending Romanian experts there.

The developing countries also find in Romania a reliable support in their efforts for an equitable settlement of the so grave issue of foreign debts, in view of removing the spoiling practices of the monopolist capital, the drain of skilled cadres to the developed socialist countries, in general in the struggle for the democratization of the inter-state relations and the building of the new world economic and political order within which all peoples may benefit from the gains of civilization.

The outlook of President Nicolae Ceausescu equally encompasses, as a steady orientation of Romania, the development of the relations with the economically

advanced capitalist countries, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. Romania has worked for the intensification of the collaboration with the respective countries with which it unfolds some 25 per cent of its total foreign economic exchange. In this respect, Romania starts from the reality that the intensification of the collaboration on multiple planes among all states, irrespective of social system is an imperative of peaceful coexistence, an important factor of international detente and understanding and equally a requirement of eliminating such phenomena as the manifestations of the world economic crisis. It is precisely in the light of these imperatives that Romania has worked for the elimination of the restrictive practices, of the artificial and discriminatory barriers resorted to by some Western countries, that affect the development of collaboration. As seen by Romania, the economic collaboration free of any political condition or attempts to interfere in domestic affairs, must rely upon stable bases of wide perspective, as it is meant to contribute to the general development.

In the light of these fundamental orientations, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlights Socialist Romania's determination to steadily work henceforth too, for the development of the relations of collaboration with all states of the world, irrespective of social system, as this meets the vital interests of the Romanian nation and is equally in harmony with the requirements of the present-day historical evolution and contributes the attainment of all peoples' ardent aspiration after peace, collaboration and progress.

Ceausescu Receives PLO's Qaddumi for Talks

*AU1801214389 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, today received Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, who is visiting our country at the head of a PLO delegation.

The guest conveyed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings and best wishes from Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. The head of the PLO Political Department expressed thanks and profound gratitude—on behalf of the PLO leadership and of the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee—for the consistent support given by the Romanian people and President Nicolae Ceausescu personally to the Palestinian people's struggle and for Romania's consistent position regarding the political settlement of Middle East problems.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu thanked the guest for the message and in turn extended greetings and best wishes to Comrade Yasir 'Arafat and the PLO leadership.

During the meeting, the head of the PLO Political Department briefed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the latest developments after the proclamation of the independent state of Palestine, on the Palestinian problem, and on various PLO steps to resolve the Middle East situation and establish a lasting peace in that region.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the particular importance of the proclamation of the independent state of Palestine and said that, in the current, more favorable conditions, it is necessary to make new efforts to speedily convene a UN-sponsored international conference on Middle East problems, with the participation of all interested parties, including the state of Palestine as well as Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

During the talk, the sides expressed the desire to further develop ties between Romania and the state of Palestine as well as between the RCP and PLO, to their mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the world.

Dinca, Others Receive Canadian Trade Delegation

*AU1801201889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1916 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/1/1989—On January 18, Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania received the Canadian delegation headed by Jack Howett, director-general of "Candu" industries association, co-chairman in the Joint Committee of Romanian-Canadian Cooperation in the Nuclear Domain, the proceedings of which are held in Bucharest.

Questions were discussed regarding the further development of the economic and technical-scientific collaboration between Romanian enterprises and Canadian companies in fields of mutual interest.

The reception was attended by Petre Fluture, minister of electric power, and Nicolae Andrei, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, co-chairman in the joint committee.

Present was Saul Grey, Canada's ambassador to Bucharest.

Continued Harassment of Dissident Reported

*AU1801135689 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT
18 Jan 89*

[Text] Paris, Jan 18 (AFP)—Romanian political police have kept up harassment of teacher Doina Cornea who was detained after giving an interview to French television, a French human rights group said on Wednesday.

Mrs. Cornea, 59, was detained by the police for six weeks after an interview with the state-owned French television company Antenne 2 in late 1987 and was put under house arrest in August last year after she publicly protested at Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu's project of forced resettlement.

The protest was included in an open letter to Mr. Ceausescu that was signed by 23 other dissidents.

Her son-in-law Michel Combes, who visited her at her home in Cluj and returned to France on Tuesday, said she was under house arrest until January 5.

He said that his mother-in-law's home was not longer guarded by police, but that she was only allowed to shop while being followed by police officers who ridiculed before passers-by as a "traitor".

She told her son-in-law she was summoned by the police in October and November and twice detained for 24 hours, and beaten.

The British envoy at the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Laurence O'Keefe expressed concern over the Cornea case during a CSCE plenary session on January 3.

Britain could not be satisfied with the outcome of the Vienna follow-up conference if the final stages of the conference were overshadowed by senseless cases of individual repression, he told his Romanian counterpart.

Meanwhile, a group of doctors, lawyers, and journalists founded an International Emergency Committee here to shed light on the situation in Romania and help Romanian dissidents.

The committee declared January 26—Mr. Ceausescu's 71st birthday—Romania Day, and said it planned to circulate a petition urging an end to police harassment and to the destruction of Romania's cultural heritage.

The movement was referring to the levelling of large neighbourhoods in Bucharest and the razing of villages under Mr. Ceausescu's rural resettlement programme.

Hungarian Clergymen Deplore Christians' Situation
AU1701131589 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Jan 89 p 3

["Appeal" by leading Hungarian clergymen, received by the Moscow office of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: "Let Us Pray for the Romanian People"]

[Text] The Moscow office of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE has received a teleprinted "appeal" in German, which is intended to draw attention to the deplorable situation of Christians in Romania. It has been signed by eight leading Hungarian clergymen and originates in Budapest. The text is as follows:

We turn to the Christians in Europe with a fraternal plea. We are doing this at a time when the whole world is united in mediation within the framework of the ecumenical week of prayers. We ask you to include in your prayers the Romanian people who are not granted freedom of worship, as well as the members of ethnic

minorities who suffer because of their diaspora-like situation. We are particularly concerned about the largest ethnic minority in Europe, our Hungarian brothers and sisters.

We receive terrible reports every day. A large number of people, who live in an atmosphere of fear and suspicions, including many children, have to undergo great hardships. Those who can no longer endure hunger, cold, and the lack of medicines, leave their homes without exit visas and passports. They are risking life and limb when they cross the border and flee to Hungary. They will not see their loved ones again because the Romanian authorities do not allow family reunions and prevent interventions by the International Red Cross. The terrible news of the destruction of the villages has meanwhile reached the whole world. There are no religious holidays in Romania: People even have to work during Christmas and Easter. Not enough priests are being trained because the number of students of theology is kept at a very low level by the authorities. Bibles have not been available for years. The younger generation has no access to hymnbooks and religious literature, and has to do without the consolation of faith. We Hungarian Christians cannot help them either because bibles and religious publications in Hungarian are not allowed to be taken across the border. Our prayers, however—like our love that rises above everything—can have an impact across the borders.

Brothers and sisters, we ask you to be sympathetic to our sorrows. On Sunday, 22 January 1989, we want to pray in all Christian churches in Europe to the Lord of the whole world for the cause of those who suffer, for our fellow Christians in Romania.

Budapest, 12 January 1989

Pastor Imre Bence, Evangelical Church in Budapest-Kelenfold

Pastor Istvan Karoly Debrecenyi, Evangelical Reformed Church in Budapest-Buda Mountain region

Zoltan Lambert, priest of the Roman Catholic Church in Budapest-Varosmajor

Pastor Janos Szasz, Unitarian Church, Transdanubian district

We share this view and therefore also sign the appeal:

Dr Karoly Toth, bishop of the Reformed Church

Dr Bela Harmati, bishop of the Lutheran Church

Janos Huszti, bishop of the Unitarian Church

Dr Ignac Csepregi, deputy cardinal of the Catholic Church.

Drive for Pay, Pension Increase Reviewed

AU1601194889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1853 GMT 16 Jan 89

["Romania: Growing Welfare"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1989—The Romanian programme of improving the quality of life in the ongoing five-year plan period (1986-1990) includes as a major provision the increase of the working people's pay and pensions. Two phases of this increase were accomplished in 1988 while the final stage of the raise drive is to start in the last month of this quarter and conclude on 1 August.

Remunerations in the 1,500-2,000 lei bracket were increased in a first stage by 33 per cent benefiting 2.5 million working people. In the second stage (1 November 1988-1 January 1989) the tariff remunerations in the 2,001-2,250 lei bracket increased to 2,401-2,650 lei some 1.9 million people benefiting from this rise. Consequently, in 1988, 4.4 million people made 5.8 thousand million lei in additional incomes.

At the same time, the working people benefited by additional incomes made through higher overall agreement extra pay, increased length-of-service bonus, bigger incentives for turning out the production meant for export.

Also in 1988 the pensions of up to 1,500 lei were increased in a first stage to benefit 801,500 people who made 300 million lei in additional incomes.

This year the pay raise drive includes all the categories of working people, some 3.5 million persons with monthly tariff remunerations higher than 2,250 lei. At the close of the drive the average pay in the economy will be of 3,300 lei. The additional incomes made by the working people this year will stand at 24.4 thousand million lei.

Pensions in the 1,501-3,000 lei bracket will be increased starting 1 March to benefit 1.4 million people. Consequently, the average pension for old age and full length of service will be of 2,000 lei a month.

Both the pay raise of 1988 and that of this year affect neither the right to state child benefits nor rents. Likewise, remunerations and pensions are increased in conditions of a strict control over prices.

Seen against the realities of the present-day world, these measures, which are correlated with the steps taken to implement the vast house-building programme, develop education, science and culture, acquire special significance. They once more prove the strength of the Romanian economy, the fact that Romania firmly applies the basic principles of socialism, of continuously ensuring the working people's welfare. In the measures it undertakes Romania sets from the application of socialist principles, from the consolidation of socialist state and

cooperative property considering that only the organization of all activities on the basis of the gains in science and technology can ensure the economic growth and higher standards of living for the people. President Nicolae Ceausescu recently stressed that in no way can these ways and means, tested and confirmed by life, be replaced by returning to capitalist forms, this outlook having nothing in common with the revolutionary outlook on the building of the new society. A return to capitalist forms, to social and work relations of capitalist type can be only damaging, worsening the situation of the working class, of the peasantry, of the working people in general, the PCP and Romanian state leader stressed. The goal of socialism is to ensure the entrenchment of the principles of socialist ethics, the liquidation of inequalities and the leveling of the people's living conditions, to create a climate of safety, of social certitude, to raise the general standards of living of all citizens.

Container Carrier Launched at Galati Shipyards

AU1601195189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1819 GMT 16 Jan 89

["The First Romanian Container Carrier"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1989—Among the latest ships recently built in Romania at the shipyard of Galati is also the container carrier "Piatra Olt," the first of the kind manufactured in the country.

With a displacement of 8,000 dwt, equipped with a slow engine of the "Man-Resita" type and with a low fuel consumption, "Piatra Olt" can load 430 containers owing to the cell structure of its store-rooms. The loading-unloading operations are rapidly done by means of transcontainer bridges—highly efficient equipment. The ship is also provided with a Romanian-made electronic computer to control its stability.

Commodities are handled by means of container terminals available to the most modern port of the world, Constanta included, owing to which the ships' waiting time is reduced to 3-4 hours.

The efficiency of such a kind of transport was successfully tested during the first voyage "Piatra Olt" made between Constanta and Antwerp, and the other way round.

This year the container carrier "Piatra Olt" and other "Ro-Ro"-type ships will ensure a new international sea line of container transportation which links the country's biggest port, Constanta, to several ports in northern Europe.

The second container carrier, also built in Galati, has recently been launched thus enlarging the Romanian fleet with modern and efficient ships.

Iron Gates Hydropower Station Performance Viewed
AU1601194989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1825 GMT 16 Jan 89

["Hydroelectric Balance at Iron Gates II"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1988—Last year, the Romanian hydroelectric stations in the Danubian "Iron Gates" system generated some two billion kwh in excess of the plan, offering the national grid an additional 300 mw. This is already tradition with these large units which generate 46 percent of the Romanian-made electric power. Since commissioning, the "Iron Gates I" and "Iron Gates II" have generated more than 100 billion kwh, of which 10 billion in excess of plan provisions.

With 2,100 mw installed power, "Iron Gates I" used to be viewed as the most ambitious project in Europe. Building it, in collaboration with Yugoslavia, which runs a twin station on the right-hand bank of the Danube, started in 1964 and ended in 1972. It involved a number of world premieres in point of construction, such as removing submerged rocks by means of blasting, as well as the size of its Kaplan turbines. The rotor of such a 175 mw turbine amounts to 360 tonnes and incorporates no less than 12,000 parts, blending huge size and minute

precision. The hydroelectric system consists of a reservoir covering 17,000 hectares for a total volume of two billion cubic meters of water, a spillway 441 meters long, apt to let through 15,500 cubic meters of water per second, and dams totaling 170 km.

The navigation system has two modern gates right near the Romanian and Yugoslav hydroelectric stations, allowing for the river traffic to grow four fold compared to the possibilities at hand in 1964.

The investment paid back in seven years of running. In 1977 the two countries passed on to the development of the "Iron Gates II" system, somewhere upstream. Two more hydroelectric stations were built, with eight 27 mw bulb-type turbines each, which annually generate some 1,400 kwh.

The fact deserves mention that a considerable growth of efficiency has been achieved by the Romanian stations by avoiding overflow, which at time of high water leads to enhancement of power by over 70 mw at "Iron Gates I" alone, this bearing adequately on the electric output. At the same time last year more than 3.5 million tonnes kwh were saved by diminishing the norm of electric consumption.

Loncar Comments on Foreign Policy Shortcomings
AU1201161389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
31 Dec 88, 1, 2, 3 Jan 89 pp 9-10

[Mirko Klarin report on "exclusive" interview with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, by BORBA on 25 December; place not given]

[Text] In a year of frustrated expectations, the year that has given us so few reasons to be satisfied and proud, only Yugoslav foreign policy stood out in the overall grayness, and to some extent even resembled the "good old times" of the role we played on the international scene. While economic, national, and social policy frustrated even the most modest expectations, leaving behind the devastation of inflation, resurrected nationalism, and poverty, foreign policy managed not only to maintain, but to promote and strengthen Yugoslavia's positions in the world as well. Although this is cold comfort in respect to our other mistakes and failures, let us recall here only some of the more important points of the 1988 foreign policy results.

For the first time ever, a ministerial meeting of all Balkan countries was held in Belgrade, at our initiative. The Belgrade Declaration adopted during Gorbachev's visit is a document of historic significance, not only for Yugoslavia and the USSR, but also for international relations in general. Yugoslavia was unanimously elected host of the forthcoming summit of the Nonaligned Movement. We were also elected member of the UN Organization Security Council. A number of important interstate visits have furthered political and economic relations with Italy, France, the FRG, Spain, China, and some other countries. Constant political dialogue with the EEC has also been established. Our foreign service has taken a very active part in the successful refinancing of our debts....

All these undoubtedly positive results were unjustifiedly eclipsed during the last weeks and days of last year by several unpleasant incidents—from Chicago and Washington to Sidney, Paris, and Madrid. These incidents have suddenly darkened the image of our diplomacy at home, but also the image of our country in the world. Marked by the demoralizing effect of these incidents or misunderstandings, which were intensified by still unsolved ideological prejudices and mistrust, we started worrying and asking ourselves: What has been happening to us in the world? And why is it happening? And where do we stand in relation to this modern world, which is breathlessly hurrying toward the third millennium? To what extent, if at all, is that world prepared to help us, or is it only pretending that it is, while it is in fact waiting for an opportunity—as some theoreticians of the "special war" warn us—to take advantage of our difficulties and troubles and cause the destabilization of Yugoslavia and some of its parts.

In Our Own Hands

With these topics and dilemmas, we started our New Year interview with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, on Sunday 25 December.

[Klarin] What is Yugoslavia's international setup today?

[Loncar] The destiny of a country always depends on its internal economic, political, and social stability, as well as on the chosen directions of its activity in the international sphere. This is still the case today, despite the changes that have occurred in the world, despite the orientation toward dialogue, and the reduction of ideological and other prejudices.

I am convinced that none of the key players in the world today has any reason to destabilize Yugoslavia, nor wants it to remain stuck in its difficulties. However, this does not mean that someone from outside will worry about our own problems.

The way out of our difficulties lies primarily in our own hands. This is even more so because the international situation is now favorable for us.

[Klarin] In order to be able to make use of these favorable international circumstances, it is necessary to make the world understand the processes that are happening in Yugoslavia. To what extent does the world have a clear picture of events and the situation in our country?

[Loncar] Foreigners understand our economic situation, our errors and omissions, and they understand what the present stage of our economic situation is. I think that they also understand our orientation toward economic and sociopolitical reform and that it has attracted a lot of attention in the world. However, they find it difficult to understand the situation in the sphere of political relations in our country. They find it difficult to understand the way we are going to achieve a suitable political development that will successfully correspond to the options we have drafted. The greatest attention is attracted by the increase of different kinds of national antagonism, intolerance, and all that seems to be at great variance with the basic values of our democratic development: our federal setup and affirmation of peoples and nationalities.

Diminishing "Rating"

[Klarin] Does it not seem to you that we sometimes drag foreigners into these political and national antagonisms of ours? Some more or less problematic gestures of some Yugoslav representatives in the world have been amply used in order to settle some internal political accounts. How does the "export" of our antagonisms affect Yugoslavia's reputation in the world?

[Loncar] We are an open society and what is happening in our country inevitably gets noticed in the world. Our press is free, but in its freedom it is sometimes subordinated too much to the interests and views of individual parts of Yugoslavia, individual republics, even individual people. The third factor in creating the image of Yugoslavia are our official and unofficial business relations with the world. All this together creates an image of Yugoslavia. We must shed the illusion that one can falsely represent the situation in Yugoslavia to the world.

It is not important whether there are attempts to represent things to the world in a one-sided way and under the influence of one's own beliefs. Official people are certainly expected to comply with the official policy. It is of key importance, however, that there is still no firm and unified orientation among the leading factors of the country toward a certain course in finding the way out of the crisis, particularly when it comes to its implementation.

[Klarin] What is the impact of Yugoslavia's political, economic, and social crisis on its standing and influence in the world? What does affect a country's "rating" in the world, and what is Yugoslavia's "rating" today?

[Loncar] Many factors affect it. First, there is the country's internal prosperity, its economic and political stability, and, as an expression of all that, its relations with the world. There is also the country's foreign policy, that is, its presence at and participation in various international events, be it indirect or direct. All that gives a country a certain credibility, legitimacy, and a basis for solving tasks in the internal sphere. Therefore, a rating can easily be interpreted as a country's credibility, and it serves its direct and lasting interests.

In its entire historical development in the internal and international sphere, Yugoslavia has achieved legitimacy and importance in the world and has been understood as a country with a greater weight than its size and financial strength. In this respect, we can say that our credibility, that is, "rating," is declining to a certain extent today. In fact, it does not satisfy the need to solve our present economic priorities, particularly those resulting from our economic difficulties.

[Klarin] Has this fact called even some permanent values of our international position into question?

[Loncar] I do not think it has. I think that our choice of historical options has won us a recognized place in international relations and great credibility. Our international position and values, in which decades of great, creative, and inspired activity have been invested still count, but our direct tasks and problems cannot be solved on this basis alone, because, as I said, our present credibility is inadequate. Great efforts are needed to improve it.

[Klarin] How can we do so? Should it be done through a "cosmetic" propaganda-diplomatic activity in the world or primarily by solving problems at home more resolutely? What would be the immediate tasks in increasing Yugoslavia's credibility in the world?

[Loncar] I think that these are primarily the tasks that our difficulties—or, to put it better, finding the way out of them—have forced upon us. I think that our basic preoccupation in the international sphere lies in the following: How is one to engender a greater understanding among our foreign partners and greater readiness by them for cooperation in the scope that is imposed by our economic reform, and without which it will be impossible to realize this reform attempt of finding the way out of the complex crisis?

This means, above all, that in the present orientation toward structural changes, market economy, and the acceleration of the entire economic, technological, and production cycle, our task is to find an understanding in the world for a greater inflow of capital and new technologies into Yugoslavia and for more intensive production and technological connections with the world. Without this it will be impossible to implement our economic reform and thereby draft a firm course toward Yugoslavia's economic progress. However, in order to do so, one certainly needs internal prerequisites as well.

[Klarin] In the present interdependent world, can any national economy advance unless it makes itself a part of the world economy?

[Loncar] Our economy, located in Europe, was formed in an independent and nonaligned country, which gave it the opportunity to deal freely with factors and groups divided against each other. Of course, it also had difficulties as a result. Its greatest shortcoming, however, is that it developed in an autarkic fashion, and that it did not sufficiently anticipate the need for greater economic integration in Europe; in other words, that it implemented the policy of independence too literally in the economic sphere.

Key Shortcoming

In its structural turnabout, the Yugoslav economy is therefore experiencing one of its key difficulties in becoming a part of the world economy, extracting itself from the autarky that brought it so low, but this is demanded by it. In this movement toward its transformation, it must above all strengthen its productivity, and the prerequisite is that it strengthens its labor discipline and adopts new technologies, for which additional capital is required. All this calls for a change in outlook, and it should influence the entire structure of our life.

In such a turning to the world, we must see a shortcoming in our relations with the world to date. As much as our great value resided in the fact that we understood the world, and that we anticipated global trends, these trends

were insufficiently translated to our internal situation and did not influence our internal development sufficiently. Perhaps this was also the key shortcoming of our foreign policy. The feedback of the world trends has been insufficiently expressed in its essentially correct orientation and its correct view of the world. Pluralism in the international field undoubtedly creates prerequisites for strengthening democracy at home. However, this does not mean that internal sociopolitical relations in a country should be formed according to foreign wishes and interests.

[Klarin] Recently there has been much occasion to speak about the professional and moral image of our diplomatic representatives abroad. Does the present system of electing these cadres on the basis of republican and provincial lists and "formulas" ensure that the necessary level of Yugoslav diplomacy will be preserved?

[Loncar] Above all, all that happens in society cannot fail to reflect in the situation in all sections of our state and social body. As much as possible, we strive to prevent the Yugoslav foreign service from being infected with internal divisions and clashes. The interests and tasks that the foreign service should perform emanate from the overall interests of Yugoslavia, both those that are lasting and those that are current, but I repeat the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole.

The foreign service has experienced both an upsurge and a stagnation in its development. It was set up under the influence of our successful internal development. When industrialization began to develop extensively in our country, foreign policy also became extensive in its work under the influence of such breadth. This is its key shortcoming. It must become more intensive, productive, skilled, and efficient. Skill and efficiency can only be achieved through greater specialization, and at the same time through a greater integration of efforts, which is to say through team work. We wish to modernize it, and we are implementing such a policy of modernization, so that it may suit the present time and requirements.

Economic relations and technological development have a predominant influence in the world today, and diplomacy must adjust to it. Therefore we must recruit cadres for the diplomatic service from a wider base. It is certain that its foundations must be created through the arrival of young people in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, their perception and monitoring of the world, along with the rationalization and modernization of production processes, the principle of remuneration according to work, the principle of recognizing and distinguishing ability from inability and successful from unsuccessful people.

"Formula" Must Not Be Mechanical

However, this is not enough. This is only the foundation. It must be constantly enriched and refreshed with the arrival of people from other communities, such as the

universities, work organizations, foreign trade, institutes, the press, and publishing. All these communities shape people who are needed in the diplomatic service and who, as such, cannot be shaped within the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Therefore I firmly maintain the point of view that this service must become enriched with people outside the Foreign Secretariat who, in a way, will also be and become professionals, but will reflect a wider range of knowledge and interests.

One should add to this that we are a federation, that all parts of the country should participate in all this, and on an equal footing, but not with the mechanical application of the "parity principle," but through respect for the criteria about which I have spoken.

As far as ambassadors are concerned, some of them must be from the ranks of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and others from communities outside this Secretariat. For example, why could a professor at a faculty of economics or an excellent businessman who has done business with the great world market and has been in competition with important companies, not also be an excellent ambassador? A large number of people from other political structures, the ranks of the Army, and the economy have come into the foreign affairs service and left a deep impression on our diplomacy and entered the ranks of our more prominent ambassadors.

[Klarin] The main foreign policy interest of every country nowadays, in this period when ideology is gradually being removed from international relations, is to create more favorable conditions for the successful solution of their own internal problems. Do we always do that, or are strong ideological factors which encroach on the real interests of the country still present in our foreign policy?

[Loncar] Everything that happens in our society cannot remain without an echo in our international conduct. Ideological prejudices were even present in the discussion on economic reform. Not only inter-republic relations are being expressed here, but in many respects, political views and ideological differences are also generally coming to the surface. This cannot help but be reflected, at least indirectly, in our conduct in the world. On the other hand, we in the Nonaligned Movement have constantly supported the idea that one of the basic principles of nonalignment is the gradual removal of ideology from international relations.

We are now at a stage of new international trends, in which the gradual process of removing ideology from international relations is taking place. However, the sources which caused divisiveness, which created military-political divisions, and which wrapped all this up into an ideological veil have not been totally eliminated. However, these are essentially better times. I think that such a world offers greater opportunities both for our activities and for the affirmation of the orientation of our principles.

[Klarin] Has our practical foreign policy activity always borne in mind this pragmatic interest: to facilitate a more successful solution to our domestic problems?

[Loncar] We have today come to the stage where the world is at a crossroads, in a dilemma, both as a whole and in every part of the world. In such a world full of diversity and contradictions and still unresolved dilemmas, it is up to us, as a nonaligned country, to make greater use of our advantages. The advantages are that we do not belong to any groupings and at the same time are overcoming the difficulties that we have, that is, the fact that we are a less developed part of Europe and that we are outside these integrations.

Translated into relations with the EC, this means that we are going for as much cooperation as possible in the division of labor, while preserving our political integrity and independent position; that we are going along a road which our European partners will respect and which will increase their interest in cooperation. This should provide us with greater access to technology and greater access to capital. Preconditions for this should be created in the country, but also among our partners, so that they respect us more as a country of particular importance for European transit, so that they have to enjoy their special position because of the fact that 1 million of our workers are in their countries, and so on. These are practical steps, and what I have said remains a vision of Europe, but with the recognition of the pluralism of sociopolitical systems and the recognition of the independence of political positions—in this case, of the nonaligned policy.

We have to create internal conditions for this which allow us to come back to the internal situation. Nowadays it is difficult for us to take any foreign policy step without having any internal support for this. And vice versa: One cannot formulate some serious measure at home without considering the international context.

[Klarin] In the political, specialist, and wider public, vehement discussions and polemics have been held recently about the European and nonaligned dimensions of Yugoslavia, and which one of these is to our advantage. Are these two dimensions in conflict or complementary?

[Loncar] They are complimentary, particularly in the long term. I would say that at this moment they are very topical. It is not accidental that it happens that the situation in our country is seen in different ways at different times.

Our European orientation has always been: 80 percent of our trade is with Europe; 75 percent of our technological and scientific cooperation is with Europe; more than 60 percent of our credit—that is, our loans—come from Western Europe. Almost all our invisible earnings are from Europe, especially those involving transport. Our personal contacts are most numerous and intensive in Europe. We earn a lot from tourism with Europe and we have a large work force in European countries.

Therefore, our links with Europe are very close, and in this respect we belong to it. The fact that we also belong to the Nonaligned Movement—which is mostly comprised of Asian, African, and Latin American countries—not only does not present an obstacle, but, on the contrary, presents a contribution to Europe as a whole. As was once said by Genscher: Without the Yugoslav nonaligned dimension, Europe would have been poorer for an entire dimension of knowledge about and connections with the world. After all, nonalignment is not a geographic orientation, but a set of principles and a political philosophy on the basis of which we act both in Europe and elsewhere.

[Klarin] Nevertheless, if you take the economic difficulties we are facing in regard to low productivity and inflation and our low standard of living in particular, we are getting further away from Europe and closer to the so-called third world.

[Loncar] We cannot deny the fact that we belong to the world of the less developed countries. During the talks I had with the EC, I also said that the developed Europe must accept the fact that it has its undeveloped South and that by recognizing its European South, it will find it easier to recognize different interests of North and South at the global level. Second, it is in the interest of the world economy, including the Western economy, to have development problems, the problems of the South, solved. The question of the European South must be speeded up because it is an urgent question of a part of the European situation, and particularly an urgent question of European integration.

[Klarin] One can see that there are some people in Yugoslavia who are dissatisfied with the rate at which we are opening toward Europe and forming links with it, and think that we could do it more quickly and to a greater extent.

[Loncar] I think that this remark is not true, and that is best demonstrated by the facts I just presented. However, the problem lies in our internal prerequisites. In order to create deeper relations, we must carry out greater internal changes. There are no ideological or other prejudices and obstacles to the rapprochement with the EC.

In the past, Yugoslavia used to be politically very stable, but in the economic and many other aspects it was stagnating, not to say receding. We are now in a state of political unrest, but I hope that this unrest will lead to clear concepts, and therefore to greater economic and other changes. Without additional accumulation, we can hardly accelerate our progress and take part in the international division of labor, that is, the cooperation which you say is developing slowly. Even if both we and the Community definitely decided to accelerate it, we cannot ignore the obstacles created by differences in development and the difficulties we have in the economic sphere.

[Klarin] At a time when all "eternal truths" have been called into question, the following problem was bound to arise: Does Yugoslav foreign policy and its diplomatic service exceed the country's needs, particularly its economic abilities?

[Loncar] I have spoken about the interdependence of the world: It is difficult nowadays to determine one's place without knowing what is happening at the global level. The greatness of Tito's view of the world lay primarily in observing and anticipating the changes that had occurred and in creating our own adequate global policy. It is easier to defend one's global policy now than it was before.

In regard to our diplomatic service, it corresponds to the size of our country, but may not correspond to our global activities. I shall explain this by using some facts. We have 86 embassies and 134 diplomatic-consular missions. We must reduce our service not only in order to reduce expenses, but also in order to transform it into an intensive and productive service. We have already made some significant moves. For instance, our budget for 1983 was \$82 million, and is now \$42 million. Second, in 1983 we closed down 29 diplomatic-consular missions and phased out 582 jobs (which is a 20-percent reduction). In 1988 we closed down four diplomatic-consular missions and one cultural-informational center, phased out 283 jobs in diplomatic-consular missions, lowered qualification requirements for 140 jobs in order to employ younger people, etc. Since 1983, the apparatus of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has been reduced from 1,795 to 1,112 workers (or 36 percent). The result of saving measures conducted this year and next will amount to \$3 million.

[Klarin] Despite all that, there is a certain feeling which is a result of our poverty, to the effect that in these times, when we find it difficult to make both ends meet, we do not need any summits or large international gatherings and showings. One cannot exclude the possibility that in such a climate, even slogans against "summit supporters" may appear. Can that push us into isolation?

[Loncar] I think that the mistake we made when we faced these difficulties was to see the way out through any kind of economizing. I think that a good investment is the best way to save money. Developed societies, particularly dynamic ones, think that the greatest disaster for a society is if capital lies idle, if it is not active in any way. In principle, I agree with these people who think that this leads to poverty or to solidarity in poverty. Therefore, I think that we must be capable of knowing what is happening in the world in order to be able to take part in it and benefit from doing so. Participation in world projects implies contacts, conferences, gatherings, and summits. In our country, however, there is a recent practice which worries me, and that is the failure to participate in many professional conferences where initial ideas for projects that may also be of interest to us

are being presented. This is allegedly done in order to save money, but I would say that what we need is rationalization, which is the best way to economize.

Nowadays, when the awareness of the interdependence of the world prevails, international communication is an additional component of world balance. Nowadays, one cannot conduct policies in one's own country without knowing about the world. Therefore, summits, conferences, etc. are an expression of the world's needs, the world which is more and more united, the world which needs more and more democratization, the world in which at least relative equality should exist, and the world which needs more and more political and psychological, if not financial, balance.

[Klarin] After the next summit, which is to be held in Belgrade this September, Yugoslavia will be chairing the Nonaligned Movement for the next 3 years. Will this fact have a stimulating or a limiting effect on the way Yugoslav foreign policy is created and conducted?

[Loncar] I think that I have already answered that question when I spoke about the need to have greater coordination between our internal interests, our economic orientation, and our nonaligned policy. The summit will only provide a greater stimulus in all three directions. I can say in addition that I recently had talks with statesmen of the countries outside the movement, and it is there that I found great interest and respect for the fact that Yugoslavia will host and chair the movement at this moment, in its present situation, and at a time when both the world and the movement are facing changes. This gives Yugoslavia an additional attractiveness, but also presents an additional test for it. This is a challenge that we must be aware of. Every challenge is a test, but not every challenge guarantees success. A test is a chance, but it first has to be passed.

[The following three passages are carried boxed within the body of the item]

Offering Cataclysm

[Klarin] There were some hypotheses and ominous forebodings in the world and in our country as well—even in the statements by some of our official personalities—about Yugoslavia's "disintegration," and questions about whether we are "on the verge of a civil war" and represent a potential hotbed of crisis in the Balkans, Europe, and even beyond. How do you see this disturbing fact, being a foreign minister whose "job description" includes making sure that the image of our country in the world is as realistic as possible, that is, as positive as possible?

[Loncar] I would first stress the fact that concern about and responsibility for our country's standing and the fact that its image in the world is as realistic and good as

possible should be shared and borne by all our factors and by all our people. That, of course, depends on one's responsibilities and possibilities.

Second, I want to stress that the attitude of virtually all our partners and all international factors toward us shows in practice that the world, Europe, the Balkans, the Nonaligned Movement, and the United Nations need Yugoslavia to be as it is, in this place, with its present international position and foreign policy.

We should by no means be the ones to convince the world public that we are threatened by disintegration, civil and fratricidal war, and "liberalization." [BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 4 January on page 7 carries the following correction to this interview: "In the sentence in which the federal secretary warns about the lack of reason behind the alarming insinuations and malicious suspicions that 'we are threatened by disintegration, civil and fratricidal war, and "Lebanonization...."' the word 'liberalization' was printed instead of the last word."]

No one in the world works like that. There have been too many of these announcements, not only by individuals but also by forums in which the worst possible and most ominous predictions are simply offered of what will happen to us if we do not do one thing or another, as if we are certain to be slaughtered. These warnings and fears no longer have any effect on our internal situation. There are so many of these frightening warnings that they have lost their meaning and are "wasted words." Moreover, we thereby only disturb international factors and the international public and feed the world media which has always been—because of the nature of things and not only as far as Yugoslavia is concerned—more inclined to report on a catastrophe rather than a celebration.

We should once and for all realize that our people are mature and that they have learned something from the bloody past. So much fuss has been made, but nothing has really happened. Therefore, this offering up of a cataclysm which will not come about because our peoples do not want it should be stopped.

And finally, does one really need to convince anybody of the stability of Yugoslavia and the pointlessness of anyone's concern for its survival, development, and progress?

It is well known that we reduced the effectives (the combat personnel) in our armed forces by a whole 13 percent last year. Our borders are not only remaining open, but the processes of the democratization of our entire social and political life are intensively developing throughout the country. The SAWP set up an independent forum for human rights, whose first action has already borne fruit: At its request, the SFRY Presidency pardoned all those people who were convicted for the so-called "verbal offense." The country is involved in three major reforms, all of which are along the lines of a

further opening up and democratization. I ask you: Does a regime or a country do this, and can it do this if it faces disintegration? I have never heard of such a thing.

Is the Foreign Service Becoming Less Professional?

My view is that the idea which is appearing in the newspapers about the supposed deprofessionalization [deprofesionalizacija] of the service because there has supposedly been a great input of people into the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs is totally unjustified. I think that this is not appropriate for the times in which we live. If this idea is accepted, then it can only have a detrimental effect on the development of diplomacy. However, the second idea that we are becoming too insular is also unjustified, as well as the view that anybody can become an ambassador.

[Klarin] If I dare to interpret the writing in the press, I would say that these comments do not so much refer to the fact that ambassadors and consuls come from the republican and provincial structures as to the fact that they come according to the principles which have for a long time been seen in our country as principles of negative cadre selection.

[Loncar] Yes, but in the interests of the whole truth, something else should be said. In recent years, some people have entered the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs from the political communities of the republics who have shown themselves to be exceptionally successful in the post of ambassador. Some of them are destined to stay in the foreign affairs service, but some will return with their knowledge enriched.

[Klarin] Some have arrived, however, whose behavior has not only harmed the reputation of the diplomatic corps and the public, but also Yugoslavia's standing in the world.

[Loncar] Of course, there are also examples of the opposite case which you are now talking about. Therefore, I am also advocating that the criteria of the responsibility and moral and political values of people should be sharpened. Apart from that, when someone enters an organization—and this seems to hold true for every organization, not just the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs—that person never leaves that organization. This is not good. Both in the foreign affairs service and among the holders of economic, social, scientific, political, and other posts, we must expose people to competition among themselves and evaluation on the basis of the identification of the results of failure. For example, there were 116 names on the list of ambassadors for next year, and 39 ambassadors are being chosen. A discussion took place about the candidates on the basis of the criteria approved by the SFRY Presidency and the FEC, and then there was a discussion with the republican people who approved these lists. After that half, the list was excluded. There are 55 names remaining, and even that

list is not the final one. Not one candidate from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs failed, and there were 19 of these, which is one-third of the whole number.

We Are Not Bothered by Openness

[Klarin] During recent years, taboos have been abolished in Yugoslav foreign policy. Some foreign policy issues that were kept secret in the past are being discussed more and more openly in the Assembly, in the press, and at scientific and other discussion forums. Our (nonexistent) relations with Israel and the ROK are, so to speak, the most popular topics. Are you bothered by this "public debate" on sensitive foreign political issues?

[Loncar] Let me say first of all that the debate on Yugoslav foreign policy not only fails to bother us, but is in fact very helpful to us. I would even say that our press has not had a sufficient number of creatively critical ideas about foreign policy. For instance, there is a very creative debate, a wealth of thoughts and views from our sociologists, philosophers, and economists pertaining to our economic and social development. I would not speak here about the extent to which this affects our political decisions and ruling concepts. However, I must say that we lack an adequate and scientifically based creativity concerning our view of the world and Yugoslav foreign policy. Of course, by saying so I do not wish to minimize the contribution being made by some individuals from publishing and journalistic circles. One needs critical thought. It is the source of our creativity and our training. However, there are sometimes some articles that are insufficiently measured and based on facts, and can therefore create confusion. There have been 810 articles concerning foreign policy and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs during the last 40 days or so.

[Klarin] Have you managed to read them all?

[Loncar] I have read the main ones and my aides have informed me about the rest. It is difficult to find the reason for such publicity. While not entering into an analysis of all this, I think it is not good if one case and one incident is singled out, and that details of the general situation are given on this basis. We have also had problems in the past. This involved human beings who were dealing with complicated situations. You know that there are very serious tasks in foreign affairs. The foreign affairs service is sometimes, so to speak, at the border posts. Among other things, it is subjected to numerous attacks by terrorist and hostile emigres.

[Klarin] On the table of the numbers of victims of terrorist attacks, our diplomats are in third place in the world after those from the United States and Turkey.

[Loncar] Yes, but this is a test for every diplomat. Outside the country, he represents all the values of the country and also bears the burden of its internal troubles. It often happens that someone overestimates his role or

even succumbs to temptation and demoralization. However, I think that on the whole our foreign affairs service resists all this. Our diplomatic service developed in exceptionally severe, complex, and dynamic conditions, when many of the world's contradictions came to a head in this region, when life itself had to be defended, and afterwards everything had to be turned into a global policy with a vision of the new world. In such developments there are people who succumb to difficulties or people appear who are not for this work, but one should not dramatize this and even less, make generalizations about it.

Since I have been in this service for almost all my working life, I can say that apart from occasional exceptions, it has on the whole had an honorable cadre, which has responsibly and successfully borne these tasks. Perhaps our service should be enjoying more support now that it should be employing younger people and transforming itself and responding to increased tasks and solving externally many problems which emerge from within. I think that this is in the interests of the society which this service should be representing. Of course, this does not mean that it should not be subjected to greater control or creative criticism.

Foreign policy has recently been increasingly discussed in the Yugoslav Assembly. This is not only the right, but also the duty of the Assembly. We see this as respect for the importance of the work which we are doing.

As far as demands for the establishment of relations with Israel and South Korea are concerned, this is a matter which should be viewed in the context of world trends, particularly the situation and development in the region where these countries are situated and in which they are involved. Of course, as the diplomatic service, we follow development closely and take an active interest in the Middle East region and in the Korean peninsula. A simplified answer could be that on the whole, we are moving in the direction of that time when there will be few countries which do not have joint relations, and you know that Yugoslavia is a champion and protagonist of just such a world. [end of boxed passages]

Jovic, Markovic Named as Candidates for Premier
LD1801171789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1321 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 18 (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic of Serbia and Ante Markovic of Croatia are the official candidates for the new Yugoslav premier, as decided today by the leadership of the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's largest political organization.

The decision which of the two will take over the post of premier, vacant since Branko Mikulic and his cabinet resigned collectively on December 30 last year, will be taken by the state's collective Presidency.

For the first time in Yugoslavia's history, a proposal was put forward today that before a final decision is taken, the two candidates address the public and state their views on how the country could pull out of the crisis.

Yugoslavia's youth organization several days ago demanded that a televised debate be organized between the two potential premiers.

Assessing the procedure of nominating candidates for the post of new premier as "really democratic", Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic today stressed that no federal unit had insisted on its own candidate and that all had agreed to accept the elected candidate and support him.

Borisav Jovic, 60, is a doctor of economic sciences. He is the former director of the Crvena Zvezda automotive plant of Kragujevac. He was a member of the federal government, Yugoslavia's permanent representative in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), Yugoslavia's ambassador to Italy, president of the Assembly of Serbia and member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Serbia.

Ante Markovic, 64, graduated electrical engineering. He was director general of the Rade Koncar machine-building industry of Zagreb, Croatian republican premier and Croatian Republican Presidency president. He was a member of the Yugoslav government commission for the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization programme and all bodies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee in charge of small-scale industry, economic reform and drafting amendments to the federal Constitution.

Televised Debate Proposed

*AU1601194089 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 89*

[Text] Yugoslav radio and television is ready to stage a program in which the candidates for the FEC president would debate their views on overcoming the crisis before television cameras. The chief editors of all our television centers are unanimous in that such a program could be realized if, of course, the potential candidates accept a public debate before the entire Yugoslav public.

Candidates Decline Appearance

*LD1801173388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 18 Jan 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—The proposed candidates for FEC president, Borisav Jovic and Ante Markovic, maintain that there is no need for publicly disclosing their programs for emerging from the crisis and their economic policies. They are of the opinion that this should be done by the one the Presidency proposes to head the Federal Government.

After the talks between the president of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, and the proposed candidates, the members of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY were informed of this decision at the end of its session.

Summing up the preliminary procedure for endorsing the candidates for FEC president, the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference proposed Ante Markovic and Borisav Jovic this morning as candidates for head of the federal government. They then decided that the proposed candidates should publicly present their programs and propose ways out of the crisis and to revive the economy before the SFRY Presidency decides on the new FEC president.

Presidency Chooses Markovic for FEC President

*LD1901141989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 19 Jan 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today proposed Ante Markovic as candidate for FEC president. The Presidency requested the candidate to immediately embark on the further procedure and consultations regarding the candidates for EEC membership, in keeping with the SFRY Constitution and the decision of the SAWPY Federal Conference on the method of implementing the preliminary procedure for proposing candidates.

According to a communique from a session held today, which was presided over by President Raif Dizdarevic, the SFRY Presidency deliberated on the report by the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium on the implementation of the preliminary procedure for proposing the candidate for FEC president.

As has already been made public, the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, at a session held on 18 January 1989 after the implementation of the preliminary procedure for proposing the FEC Presidential candidate, concluded that the SFRY Presidency propose two candidates for FEC president: Dr Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian SR Assembly, and engineer Ante Markovic, a member of the Croatian SR Presidency.

In making its decision, the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium began from the fact that both candidates are prominent public and political workers and experts who have held responsible posts in industry and in the organs of sociopolitical communities and organizations. In the assessment of the Federal Conference Presidium, both candidates fulfill the established criteria and demands, which are vital when deciding on an FEC presidential candidate, and generate confidence that they will work successfully on resolving the current problems of our society.

In view of this, and in accordance with article 315, item 1 of the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency has decided to propose to the SFRY Assembly Ante Markovic, Croatian SR Presidency member, as candidate for the president of the Federal Executive Council.

The SFRY Presidency has informed the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium about this decision.

The SFRY Presidency asked the FEC presidential candidate to immediately embark upon consultations on the candidates for membership to the Federal Executive Council in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and a decision by the SAWPY Federal Conference providing for the method of carrying out the preliminary procedure for proposing candidates. In line with this, the FEC candidate will, as soon as possible, explain to the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium and the public the main aspects of the action program for the new Federal Executive Council and the criteria for proposing candidates for membership to the FEC, the communiqué says.

Presidency Urges Action at 13 Jan Meeting
LD1401133989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency held a session on 13 January during which it discussed the current socioeconomic and political situation, relations in the country, and its immediate tasks. The presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces and top federation officials also took part in the session.

As reported today, the participants in the session judged that the country's complex political situation, the threat to the normal functioning of the system's institutions and to relations established by the constitution, and the such market negative manifestations as massive unjustified price increases require resolute and urgent action by all the country's organs.

On the basis of this evaluation, the SFRY Presidency approved its immediate tasks and activities and the tasks of other organs of the federation and of the organs of the republics and autonomous provinces. The SFRY Presidency asked the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces and organs of the federation to urgently review their responsibilities and to efficiently carry out their share of the tasks and, at the same time, motivate all the segments of the system into the broadest possible action.

Presidency Issues Statement on Cadre Renewal
LD1401173488 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1640 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Yugoslavia—Urgent Replacement of Dismissed Leaderships"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—In a statement from today's meeting, the Yugoslav State Presidency demanded urgent cadre renewal of the leaderships dismissed after mass citizens' protests.

The Presidency statement warned that all attempts to abuse public and mass dissatisfaction, which lead to the creation of an atmosphere of disregard for the constitutional order and legality, and jeopardise efforts for the implementation of economic reform, must be suppressed.

The Presidency warned that the effective functioning of the organs of power, state administration and other state organs must be ensured effectively in all places and at all times, with respect for the feelings and justified demands of the citizens.

The Presidency asked that all organs, in accepting the justified demands for change of leaderships, at the same time initiate the procedure for the candidacy and election of new leaderships, so as to prevent a paralysis in their work and ensure that they continue to carry out the duties determined under the Constitution and the law.

Vojvodina LC Adopts Nominations for Posts
LD1901003089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee (PC) Presidium has adopted the proposal to nominate Nedeljko Sipovac and Predrag Jereminov for the post of president of the Presidium. The Presidium also adopted the proposal to nominate Miodrag Koprivica and Emilija Bruner-Bala for the post of secretary of the Presidium. This was decided today, on the eve of tomorrow's extraordinary Vojvodina LC conference.

Vojvodina Extraordinary Conference Opens 19 Jan
LD1901095489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—About 1,000 delegates and guests are taking part in a 2-day extraordinary conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, which opened in Novi Sad today.

The conference was opened by Bosko Kovacevic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, who greeted all those present, including representatives of the LC leaderships from other republics and the SAWP of Kosovo; Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY CC Presidium; and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The extraordinary conference of Vojvodina LC will critically examine the current ideopolitical situation in the province and define tasks aimed at overcoming weaknesses and political mistakes made by the former provincial leadership which, under pressure from popular dissatisfaction, had to leave the political scene in October last year.

Montenegro LC To Carry Out Cadre Renewal
*LD1901100589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 19 Jan 89*

[Text] Titograd, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—A plenary session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee has begun in Titograd, at which the renewal of one-third of the membership of this forum will be—as envisaged earlier—carried out and the new Presidium elected.

It is expected that a special committee for the preparation of an extraordinary congress of the Montenegro LC, to be held no later than within the next 2 months, will be set up.

Titograd Events Not 'Democratic Achievement'
*AU1801153689 Zagreb VJESNIK
(PANORAMA SUBOTOM supplement) in
Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 89 p 1*

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "Will Programs or Folk Dances Lead Us Into 21st Century?"]

[Text] The basic question that is being asked after the replay of the Titograd rebellion, which led to the resignation of all the leading bodies of the SR of Montenegro, applies to the method used last week with a view to achieving what had failed 3 months before.

In a situation in which social tension reached its culmination, when an actual bankruptcy that had long been concealed from the public confronted the citizens of our smallest republic with cruel reality, in which it turned out that the former leadership was incapable of offering at least a general program for solving the crisis even though they had had 3 months to do so, and when the situation in the whole of Yugoslavia was burdened by an almost tangible insecurity, one did not need special political wisdom to take advantage of such a basis for an action such as that carried out by populist movements. A careful reading of the program presented in the demands of the organizational committee of the Titograd meeting shows that it is not in conformity with the conclusions of the first LCY conference. These demands call for "an energetic and revolutionary action," and democratization is not mentioned anywhere in the sense used in the request for the three reforms set by the first conference. True, the demands mention a "modern and efficient socialist system that will ensure social justice, true democracy, and guarantee full human freedoms," but the very act of protesting in front of the Montenegrin Assembly building contradicted these words from the start. Nobody can deny that some of the highest organs and prominent Montenegrin politicians must be called to account for prolonging the unbearable situation in which this Yugoslav federal unit found itself. If, however, their replacement was carried out in the same way that had been used in Vojvodina, that is, in the style of "mob democracy," then everybody in this country must ask themselves where all this leads, and whether it is

"true democracy." The way the resignation of the complete republican leadership was received in Titograd is indicative from an ethnosociological point of view. The people's celebration began in the square in front of the assembly building, a folk dance was danced, the demonstrators were euphoric. The people's celebration, the dance, and euphoria will by no means contribute to solving the difficulties that have accumulated in Montenegro, and they cannot meet the challenges facing this Yugoslav republic on the threshold of the 21st century. Therefore, the SFRY Presidency justifiably warned that one must ensure that all institutions of the system in the SR of Montenegro function, that constitutionality and legality be fully respected, and that public order is kept. A letter from Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also says something more about the nature of the Titograd events, which once again disturbed the entire country. Expressing the hope that he will have an opportunity to present the LCY Central Committee, Yugoslav communists, and the general public with all that he had planned to say to the Montenegrin and Yugoslav public, he expects the initiators of his resignation, "like any other democratic and civilized group of people, to give all the moral and political reasons that motivated them to make such demands." Because of all this, and irrespective of the masses, which, conducted by the organizers, managed to bring about the fall of the Montenegrin leadership, the Titograd events cannot be considered to be a democratic achievement in the present Yugoslav moment of crisis. It has only increased the tension between democratic and dogmatic forces, between federalists and unitarists, and between self-management and statism.

The Montenegrin events particularly struck one when compared with the other two events that happened in the same week in Ljubljana and Zagreb. The Slovene Democratic Alliance was officially founded in Ljubljana as an autonomous body within the SAWP of Slovenia, and the initial meeting of the Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative was held in Zagreb. If the Yugoslav situation of crisis is understood to be a stimulus that initiated the formation of the two alternative political groups, then the events in Ljubljana and Zagreb have the same source as the dramatic happening in Titograd. One should then ask the reasonable question of what we need in times of general social tension and individual frustrations: dramatic pictures from the street or new initiatives appropriate to the stage of development we have reached as a part of civilized and ever more integrated Europe, regardless of the fact that we are lagging behind new European trends because of our own political inhibitions.

The Ljubljana Slovene Democratic Alliance was conceived as a movement for the affirmation of democracy and political pluralism—without these being empty political phrases such as invoke the "people"—and ballots for electing all bodies of the new alliance were distributed during the initiative meeting. In Zagreb, the Initiative Committee of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative was given the mandate to revise

the proposed draft statute, which was criticized at this meeting because it included two passages which do not comply with democratic standards. This warming up and training for democracy that was carried out at the beginning of the year and during the climax of the crisis—which, some people say, still has not reached the limit of social tolerance—are undoubtedly the harbingers of the new processes appearing in Yugoslavia. These processes support the view that in the new circumstances of the changed world, Yugoslavia must carry out internal reforms and restructuring in order to urgently find ways to jump aboard the train destined for the 21st century. The question is: Is it going to do so with the help of new programs or folk dances?

Ivanjica Municipal Leadership Replaced

LD1901135989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Ivanjica, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—A protest meeting held outside the Ivanjica Cultural Center, which was attended by about 5,000 citizens and workers, ended with the municipal leadership being replaced. It is alleged that the reason for this is the accumulated dissatisfaction of workers and citizens with the numerous subjective and objective weaknesses not being resolved on time or effectively, and with the leadership behaving in an opportunist way and failing to meet the demands and needs of the working class and workers for change. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Writers Reject Abolition of Association

AU1301181389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 89 p 4

[R.B. report: "Demands Will Not Be Met"]

[Text] Pristina, 4 Jan—Your foolish and segregationist demand that the Association of Kosovo Writers be abolished does not suit the writers in the least. However, all this does not in the least surprise us because it corresponds to the well-known demands of some of the most reactionary cultural and political circles in Belgrade, which are against everything that is Albanian and which even go as far as the abolition of various institutions and associations, as well as the constitutional order and the historical essence of the Kosovo province itself. This also includes the resignations of 27 Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim writers who even have privileged positions in the Association of Kosovo Writers, which had one single aim—the formulation of yet another accusation against their own colleagues, Albanian writers, under the label and phrase "ethnic purity" and "national separation," and to satisfy all slanderers in the Association of Serbian Writers, as you have done on this occasion.

This is the reply of Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Association of Kosovo Writers, to the "demand from Montenegro that the Association of Kosovo Writers" be abolished.

Ibrahim Rugova stresses that the demands will not be met. "We hope that the other societies and associations will not permit this either. We wish you greater reasonableness and authorial wisdom in 1989."

Slovene Democratic Alliance Meeting Detailed

LD1201050789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—"The Slovene Democratic Alliance should be an organization and a movement of free people who want to express themselves politically outside the official structures, of people who are concerned for the Slovene and Yugoslav future, who hold dear the freedom and reason, the democracy and sovereignty of the Slovene nation," stressed Dimitrij Rupel when opening the founding assembly of the Slovene Democratic Alliance today.

More than 1,400 people gathered in the great hall of "Cankarjev Dom." The assembly elected 9 members to the alliance's Executive Committee, 25 members to the Slovene Democratic Alliance's Council, and 7 members to its supervisory committee.

Rupel reminded those present that the initiative for founding the Slovene Democratic Alliance started at the plenum of culture workers in the middle of last year. He went on to say that "Slovenia has become, to a great extent, disobedient. The all-people's democratic movement developed here, which the official Slovene politics necessarily had to consider. I am convinced, Rupel added, that a part of that politics looked at the movement with sympathy, but it should be added that official Slovene politics tried to use the movement for their own consolidation, and not entirely in accordance with movement's interests.

According to Rupel, the Slovene Democratic Alliance should help normalize our political relations, but this is not possible without taking into consideration real, legitimate, and even illegitimate social interests. The Democratic Alliance cannot be a movement, an organization, solely of intellectuals; it is a political space to the liking of intellectuals, peasants, workers young and old, Christians and atheists—in short, to the liking of all democratically minded people, of all who want to take part in the movement for formalization, political legitimization, and the equality of different world views. Our common denominator, Rupel said, should be political pluralism.

Rupel stressed that the Slovene Democratic Alliance could become an opposition to the system of state-party rule, and that it does not thereby become an opposite pole to the state party, a mirror image of the ruling party. "I understand our alliance as opposition to the oppositionless system. It will be a bridge for transition to a system with opposition. I understand by the alliance a school of democracy," Rupel stressed.

The fact that neither the SAWP nor the Slovene LC has its own national program, but is subordinated to the program of the federal party, is catastrophic. Therefore, according to Rupel, a Slovene national program should be prepared. It should be carried on from the point where NOVA REVILJA, with its 57th edition, and where writers and sociologists with "theses for a new Slovene constitution" started.

According to Rupel, a Slovene national program unfortunately can be neither a "Cebinski Manifest" from 1937, nor the LCY program from 1958. Drawing attention to the fact that the founding assembly is adopting the alliance's interim program and rules, Rupel announced that the first regular assembly, meaning the congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, will be held in May of this year.

Taking part in the discussion, in which almost all participants were greeted by applause, Ivo Urbanic said that opposition is a normal phenomenon in democracy. Rudi Seligo thought that the Slovene Democratic Alliance opened the door for strengthening national sovereignty.

Dr Bostjan Zupancic stressed that the creation of a party propagating the re-introduction of capitalism is not to his liking, but he wanted the creation of an open space in which he could express his own opinion publicly and effectively.

Viktor Zakelj, vice president of the Republican conference of the Slovene SAWP, called upon members of the movement to contribute creatively to the program and the organizational and cadre restructuring of the Socialist Alliance, in which there are still numerous possibilities for the development of pluralism and for the democratization of society. "We want your cooperation and coresponsibility [saodgovornost] in putting the situation in society in order," Zakelj said.

The participants and work of the founding assembly then were greeted by representatives from the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights; the Slovene Peasant Alliance [Slovenacki seljacki savez]; the Social Democrats, whose founding assembly will be held in mid-February; the "2,000 society"; the Commission for "Justice and Peace"; and by the Slovene Provincial Bishops' Conference and Slovenacka matica [Slovene publishing house].

This evening the founding assembly proposed that the alliance's Executive Committee be authorized to step out of the SAWP without convening a congress because it is of the opinion that it cannot work in a satisfactory manner within the SAWP framework. The proposal was accepted by acclamation. In the same way, a suggestion that the adjective Slovene be taken out of the name, so that membership would not be impossible for non-Slovenes, was rejected. The suggestion was rejected, but

it was said that the Slovene Democratic Alliance is open for membership regardless of nationality, and it will act on the whole within the framework of the Slovene cultural space.

A president—Dr Dimtrij Rupel is a candidate—and two vice presidents will be elected from among the nine members of the Slovene Democratic Alliance Executive Committee.

Spokesman Protests FRG Visa Introduction
LD1201182489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1715 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 12 (TANJUG)—Indications from Bonn that it might introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens have provoked dissatisfaction and concern in the Yugoslav public, Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here today.

The introduction of visas would be beyond comprehension in view of the overall, very developed, friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany, Vajgl said. (?Free contacts) between people, enabled by an agreement on the abolition [of] visas in 1968 are one of the biggest values in the two countries' relations. Free movement of individuals symbolizes the contribution of the two countries in the process of democratization of relations in Europe.

Yugoslavia welcomes West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's statement in which he set the problem in the context of friendly relations between the two countries and proposed bilateral talks on the question.

The first opportunity for such a dialogue will be in Vienna, on the closing of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Yugoslavia and France will also discuss the abolition of visas for citizens, Vajgl said.

Expectations on Balkan Meeting Voiced
LD1201174089 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1612 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia expects that the meeting of the Balkan countries' deputy foreign ministers in Tirana from January 18-20 will encourage development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here today.

The basic aim of the meeting will be to review multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries last year and discuss the program of activities for this year, Vajgl said.

He noted that the meeting in Tirana is being held in accord with the agreement and mandate set by the Balkan countries' foreign ministerial meeting in Belgrade last February.

After the meeting in Tirana, the head of the Yugoslav delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksić, will have talks with Albanian partners on further development of Yugoslav-Albanian relations, Vajgl said.